

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
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MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF

CIVIL INTELLIGENCE SECTION

SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART XXII

"YONAI GIVEN CABINET"

98-GH93-2.7

(10 Jan - 16 Apr 1940)



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THE SAIONJI - HARADA MEMOIRS
PART TWENTY TWO: YONAI GIVEN CABINET

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Chapter</u>		<u>Page</u>
350	POSSIBLE PREMIERS STUDIED	2719
351	YONAI PUT INTO POWER	2733
352	CHOICE OF YONAI SURPRISES ARMY	2744
353	RALLYING THE EX-PREMIERS	2751
354	SAITO INCIDENT IN DIET	2759
355	STATE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS	2764
356	KANO ANALYZES BRITISH INTERESTS	2770
357	ARMY PLOTS AND TACTICS	2776
358	INTRA-GOVERNMENT LIAISON	2782
359	KONOYE PLANS TRIP ABROAD	2792
360	KONOYE'S TRIP CANCELLED	2801

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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 350
(10 January 1940)

Possible Premiers Studied

Translated by T/Sgt Takashi Matsuda



KONOYE, MATSUDAIRA, KIDO and I (HARADA), were to have dinner at the Kuwana and have a long talk; however, since KIDO had caught a cold, he could not come. From about 6:00 p.m., we talked on various matters. KONOYE said: "It was said that the reason for Lt. Gen. OBATA's coming here to recommend Gen. MAZAKI was not for the purpose of placing him at the head of the Cabinet. In brief, it was to make him assume the responsibility in dealing with China." Although KONOYE explained in the above manner, I thought there is no doubt about OBATA wanting MAZAKI to become the Premier. KONOYE continued: "If this Cabinet should fail, the most appropriate thing to do would be to nominate UGAKI."

The public has practically no confidence in the present Cabinet. At the same time, almost all the government officials have no intention of supporting the Cabinet. This is due to the abolishment of the Ordinance Guaranteeing Public Office (Jibun Hosho-rei) which was proposed by the Premier. If his reputation is unfavorable everywhere in this manner, the Diet session is hopeless. Also, in the announcement of the resignation of influential representatives, there exists a rebellious motive; that is, perhaps a move to overthrow the Cabinet. However, as long as this problem has a direct bearing on the problem of the existence of the people in their districts, it can be thought that there are many people who are seriously talking about the administration. KIDO

Possible Premiers Studied

was saying simply that it is not desirable to have the Cabinet overthrown by the activities of a party of influential representatives. However, this was naturally a disagreeable point to KONOYE.

In order to hear about the situation of the Cabinet, I called and invited Count SAKAI over and conversed with him. As I spoke to him, it seemed that SAKAI, as Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, thought it is better for the Cabinet to resign. Only, he seemed to be perplexed with the problem of a way to make it resign. In listening to the sessions of the Cabinet, he concluded that there is hardly any coordination and that no top secrets can be kept among the Ministers. Consequently, everyone is suspicious of each other and no one speaks the truth. He (SAKAI) wanted to have the War Minister hear his opinions because he does not like to leave the impression that he planned the overthrow of the Cabinet.

From about 11:00 p.m., KONOYE and I visited the home of IKEDA Seihin in Azabu and conversed with him until 12:40 a.m. IKEDA also seemed very concerned.

In brief, his anxiety was mainly diplomacy. He said:

"Japanese-American relations are not progressing as well as reported in the newspapers. In the conference between Count KABAYAMA and Ambassador GREW, KABAYAMA stated:

'Foreign Minister NOMURA is a good man; however, he is an amateur at diplomacy. He understands 90%, but when it comes to the other 10%, he can never understand. Therefore, there is nothing to do but wait. There is no alternative.'

"It is definite that the United States will ask Japan to withdraw her troops from China. When that time comes,

Possible Premiers Studied

who is there to solve the problem? I think it is a great problem. For example, here are two or three concrete problems. Even after the promise that there will be no attacks on missionaries and churches, the Army (Japanese) air forces have twice done so. There are large church buildings on important military grounds, and even when it is unnecessary to cut through these grounds, or the position is such that an appropriate flanking movement can be made, a deliberate movement is executed to hurt the feelings of the Americans. These are merely minor things, but other concrete facts exist. It seems as if GRE' felt that unless that high-handed Army power is eliminated from the Government, a complete understanding between Japan and the United States is impossible. Although Foreign Minister NOMURA has good intentions towards diplomacy, the situation will degenerate. It does not matter how often cabinets change, the alarming thing is that the diplomatic relations between Japan and the United States are bad. Consequently, it will affect Great Britain." IKEDA was very concerned over these points of diplomacy.

Early on the morning of the 30th, I (HARADA) visited Navy Minister YOSHIDA at his residence at Kakinokizaka and conversed from 8:00 to 9:30 a.m. He stated: "At any rate, it is necessary to have the Cabinet resign quickly and without fuss. It doesn't matter who is the head of the succeeding Cabinet. How is Prince KONOYE? UGAKI is all right too." He fully recognized the ability of UGAKI.

I told YOSHIDA that the main weakness of Japanese politics is that it cannot assert itself openly. For

Possible Premiers Studied

For instance, if people like KUHARA and MAZAKI became active again, the rightist organizations that surround them or the more rebellious elements of the political parties would gain power. This is where the evil lies. Because of my (HARADA) long association with the Navy, I am confident that the Navy will make correct estimates of the political scene and meet all problems. This is also because of the just viewpoint of the Navy. When I told this to Minister YOSHIDA, he was very happy. He was saying that he wanted to work harmoniously with the Minister of War so as to avoid any failure on the part of the Army.

On the 31st, I visited KONOYE and had dinner with him. He received information from a certain source that the Premier had decided to change four ministers and have MACHIDA, NAKASHIMA and KUHARA for the posts of Minister of Commerce and Industry, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Minister of Home Affairs and Minister of Railways. MACHIDA refused to enter the Cabinet, but it was definite that KUHARA and the other would enter the Cabinet. The thing that surprised me was that the information was contrary to the talk I had over the phone with the Premier. Realizing something was wrong, I immediately called the Premier by phone and found out that it was a false report. Then, I said to the Premier: "I am now at the home of the President of the Privy Council and the above report had been phoned to KONOYE." When I said this, the Premier stated: "There are some who come to me with information that you and KONOYE are saying this and that. I don't believe those things at all, but there are certain people who make various reports in order to set people at

Possible Premiers Studied

variance. Therefore, be cautious when you hear them."

KONOYE said: "The other day, when I met the Premier, he said: 'When you were Premier, HARADA often told me that the Army disregarded the Cabinet and made its own decisions in dealing with China, and then sought approval afterwards. I often heard that what the Army does is very one-sided and they present a troublesome situation. Now, from my personal experience as head of the Cabinet, I witness the same conditions around me. What he said at that time is indeed true.'" KONOYE related this to me in a sympathetic tone.

On the way home, I called on Admiral YONAI at his home. Admiral YONAI must have also received some report, for he was saying that the Premier decided to resign at 11:00 p.m. last night. However, this was also false.

I left on the evening of the 1st, and went to Okitsu. On the morning of the 2nd, I made my New Year's call at Prince SAIONJI's residence and then reported the recent developments. After listening to my report for about an hour and a half, he said: "At any rate, let us watch the situation. As it was stated in your shorthand dictation, when this Cabinet was first established, the Premier was troubled by the problem of the Foreign Trade Ministry. The Premier said to the Emperor: 'I keenly feel my responsibilities concerning this problem. Naturally, I should resign, but when I think of the grave responsibilities which we face now in dealing with China, I think it is my duty to ask Your Majesty's permission to remain.' He clearly stated this and didn't he say he would continue? Is that false?" The Prince asked me these questions. I told him: "The situation may have changed, but the Premier

Possible Premiers Studied

himself, naturally, has no intention of resigning. Therefore, no Cabinet members mention the situation to the Premier, although they have the feeling that they cannot attend the Diet if this situation exists. Such is the situation."

When I spoke to KONOYE on the morning of the 3rd, he said: "It seems that the Cabinet will continue as it is." Furthermore, the Minister of Home Affairs phoned and said: "The situation is not very clear, but the powers of the political parties seem great in the Diet. Therefore, we must consider this carefully."

Immediately after that, I phoned the Foreign Minister. The Foreign Minister said: "It is definite that the fishery treaty with Russia is possible. I believe that the Soviet-Manchukuo Border problem can be settled also. Furthermore, the Tientsin problem will be solved."

When I phoned KIDO and inquired about the situation, he said: "Yesterday, the Premier came over to my home, but he never mentioned anything about resigning. On the contrary, he said he was going to do his utmost."

On the morning of the 4th, I phoned Finance Minister AOKI and inquired about the state of things. He said: "I spoke with the Army and they say that if the Premier is willing to continue, why not?"

The Tokyo press stated over the phone: "YAMAZAKI Tatsunosuke, who has been planning the organization of a new political party, was very disappointed. We hear various things about MACHIDA, the President of the Minseitō, but they differ according to the sources. To the government, MACHIDA says that the Diet is safe; to the other groups, he says that when the Diet becomes active

Possible Premiers Studied

and overflows with power, it may be difficult for leaders (of political parties), to suppress the activities of groups of representatives according to the nature of the problems. He (YAMAZAKI) related that the extent of co-operation between the political parties is not clear.

The influential representatives exaggerate and claim that there are 251 supporters, but that the government estimates them as 150." The above statements were made by the various Tokyo papers.

On the 4th, I had a telephone conversation with SAKURAUCHI, the former Minister of Agriculture and Forestry. He said: "There is no marked change; however, last night KANAMITSU, the Minister of Overseas Affairs, said to the Premier: 'The situation of the political parties is bad. Therefore, is it not better to resign at this time?' Since the Premier did not pay any heed, KANAMITSU returned very disappointed."

That same day, I reported the general situation to Prince SAIONJI. He said: "Logically speaking, isn't it proper to have the Cabinet resign? However, if the Government is to resign, there should be a definite policy outlined. It is not good merely to resign. If the government is dissolved, the government should have definite plans regarding foreign and home affairs and all other important problems. Furthermore, as far as KONOYE is concerned, he is from the noble lineage; and because the people seem to have confidence in him, from the standpoint of his popularity, he should be prudent. However, I believe, as he was saying earlier, that it would be better if he would go to the United States for further study."

That evening, I heard over the phone that the reason

Possible Premiers Studied

the Premier is so powerful is because it seems that KUHARA is encouraging the dissolution. KUHARA said to the Premier that the government should be dissolved and that during the time of reorganization, he will step into the Cabinet and be of help. KUHARA appears to be selling himself. At the same time, to the other circles, he seems to express the intention of approaching the Army and plan to enter the next Cabinet."

I thought this was a very dangerous thing so I called on Prince SAIONJI on the morning of the 5th, and talked about this. On the following day, the 6th, I first returned to Oiso, met INUKAI (Ken) and MATSUDAIRA, and returned home. I informed them that I would return to Tokyo within a few days.

On the evening of the 6th, I returned to Oiso and met INUKAI (Ken) and MATSUDAIRA and conversed until 11:00 p.m. INUKAI said: "Gen. UGAKI is not fit. Because he is opposed to the negotiations with WANG Ching-wei, it is feared that the negotiations will be broken. The Army is saying that UGAKI will not do. Furthermore, KUHARA is very understanding and has the ability. There are many who maintain that the next Cabinet should be centered around HATA, the present War Minister, with KUHARA as Minister of Home Affairs. Then, how about including leading members of the political parties so that the people and the Army will be in unity?" I said: "Previously, during the INUKAI Cabinet, you and your father were very cautious about KUHARA. At that time, I heard from you and the Premier that the gaining of political power by such a person as KUHARA was undesirable. Can it be said that the present KUHARA has changed from that KUHARA? Or has he

Possible Premiers Studied

improved? What is it anyway?" He answered: "He has not changed greatly, but he has the ability." I (HARADA) said: "However, even if he is capable, if he should abuse his ability, it becomes harmful. Isn't that so? I am definitely opposed to such a thing as his becoming the Minister of Home Affairs. How about thinking this matter over?" I then heard various things concerning the situation in China. We then parted.

Later, rumors had it that I was scheming to have UGAKI become the Premier and that INUKAI had come to stop my activities. I thought it very peculiar and later when I met two or three people, they told me that INUKAI had said to OTA Masataka: "It seems that HARADA is active in favor of UGAKI. Therefore, I am going to put a stop to it."

On the morning of the 7th, when I visited IKEDA at Oiso and spoke to him about KUHARA, IKEDA said: "If the world has come to the point where KUHARA becomes a Minister, I would like to retire."

Furthermore, IKEDA said: "On the 4th of January, in Kobe, Major ITO, who was formerly with the Soldier Affairs Bureau (Heimu Kyoku) of the War Ministry, and eleven others were arrested. Major ITO was in a communications section observing diplomatic communications. He deeply resented the weak diplomacy, and was planning to blow up the British and American Embassies, assassinate the Ambassadors of Great Britain and the United States, and UGAKI, IKEDA, YUKI, the Minister of the Imperial Household, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and others, who were pro-British. He (ITO) went to Kobe to call on his predecessor, who was once the division commander at Himeji, and spoke to him

Possible Premiers Studied

about the plan. His predecessor was greatly alarmed and reported the matter to the Kempeitai, who arrested them. It is rumored that there are about 42 fellow conspirators." (Original parenthesis: I heard later from KONOYE that Col. TAKASHIMA and a few others came to KONOYE's home, and in their conversations there was an expression of farewell - in preparation for death. At that moment, I (KONOYE) sensed something was going to happen. Major ITO was present too and it was about this after all).

I immediately left IKEDA's home, returned and telephoned this to MATSUDAIRA in Tokyo. When MATSUDAIRA spoke to an aide-de-camp the following day, he found it to be true and was startled. Therefore, the Army kept this a secret.

I phoned ARITA and told him that IKEDA was worried over the diplomatic relations between the United States and Japan. ARITA said: "It's really a perplexing situation, but nothing can be done. Anyway we must quickly stop the war." ARITA seemed to know a little about the incident of ITO being arrested in Kobe.

On the morning of the 9th, when I went to the station to go out to Tokyo, I ran into Gen. UGAKI. Since I realized that things were very delicate and troublesome, I took a separate car to Tokyo.

From 2:00 p.m., I asked SUGIYAMA and ARITA to call me. I listened to their conversations and they said that there was a phone call to Gen. SUGIYAMA from MUTO, the Chief of the Bureau of Military Affairs (Administration), asking him to head the succeeding Cabinet. SUGIYAMA could not do it because he wanted to remain in active service. Furthermore, SUGIYAMA stated: "As long as General UGAKI,

Possible Premiers Studied

HAYASHI and OBE are the nucleus, and are making failure after failure, it is unthinkable for me to take office now. There are people who say various things, but, of course, I do not listen to them."

ARITA and I said: "There is such a thing called 'trend' but we are not in favor of your taking office. However, if you should ever assume office because of this 'trend', you should be very cautious. You must be especially careful of the Chief Cabinet Secretary and the Minister of Home Affairs. Also, it is clear that you, as Premier, will be in a predicament standing between the Emperor and his subjects. A firm determination is necessary and today, from the standpoint of diplomacy, the relation between the United States and Japan are very strained."

We continued talking until 4:00 p.m. Gen. SUGIYAMA said: "KONOYE is most suitable after all. It might be pretty difficult to have UGAKI as Premier yet. He is all right as a Cabinet member, but as the Premier, it might be very difficult."

That same day at noon, MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, was supposed to meet KONOYE first and then come to my home later. I spoke to KONOYE over the phone before and after he met MATSUDAIRA. KONOYE said: "Although I am of the opinion that UGAKI is best fitted, there seems to be considerable complications. Therefore, how about placing IKEDA as the first candidate and UGAKI as second? At any rate, I will have a talk with MATSUDAIRA, so please listen to him when he goes to your home."

MATSUDAIRA came and told me: "In any case, there is no alternative but to have IKEDA, UGAKI, or that certain

Possible Premiers Studied

Army general, a reservist, as Premier."

MATSUDA said MUTO, the Chief of Military Affairs Bureau, had wanted to see him so they met. MUTO said: "The Army wants to see through this serious crisis together with the people. I want a Cabinet that can do this. Therefore, we should avoid having any soldier in active service. It is all right if they are in the reserves and if possible, someone other than a military man is preferable. Prince KONOYE is most appropriate. Only, even among the reserve officers, Gen. UGAKI seems to have considerable opposition so he should not be placed in office. I cannot say exactly who is best, but I would like to have the next Cabinet based on this."

About 6:00 p.m., Navy Minister YOSHIDA came and we had dinner together. YOSHIDA said: "I think this Cabinet should be dissolved as soon as possible. As a matter of fact, the Premier is making all efforts to dissolve the Cabinet, urged by someone like AKITA or KUHARA. However, dissolution now is undesirable. There is no sense in dissolution. From the standpoint of national expenditures, the Army and Navy will run into difficulties during the Incident."

"Yesterday, the Emperor, through an aide-de-camp, said: 'The Premier is going to come tomorrow. Before he comes, I would like to hear the opinions of the Navy Minister concerning the existing situation.' I told the Premier that in a situation like this, the dissolution of the Cabinet is very troublesome. Today, before I met the Premier, I made previous arrangements with the Minister of War, and told the Premier that I wanted the dissolution of the Cabinet avoided. The Premier had an idea

Possible Premiers Studied

satisfied expression on his face. If it should come to such a pass, I want to speak to the War Minister first. At any rate, it is better to dissolve before the opening of the Diet session. My experience with the present Cabinet is that the Chief Cabinet Secretary and the Director of the Bureau of Legislation were useless and the conferences meaningless. I thought from the first that this was impossible. I am going to meet Gen. SUGIYAMA today. Gen. SUGIYAMA and Gen. TERAUCHI have already conferred with the War Minister. I want you to find out what it was about."

When I asked Gen. SUGIYAMA about this, he said: "The War Minister talked about the progress of negotiations with and of the situation in China. He also talked about the incident in Kobe. He didn't say as to whether this Cabinet should dissolve or not. HATA did not say as to whether the Premier should resign or not. If the War Minister is to advocate the resignation of the Premier, in view of the story in the Army circles of forming a Cabinet headed by HATA, it would appear as if this was too much in the nature of an attempt to overthrow the government and place himself at the helm. I do not like this at all. There are some people who are saying that Gen. SUGIYAMA should become the Premier, but if a general officer in active service becomes the premier and fails again, the anti-Army feeling would become ever stronger. This would be like pouring oil on fire. Therefore, the Army doesn't want a general officer in active service to be the head of the Cabinet. If there were a reserve officer..., but there is none. UGAKI is the only possibility but from many standpoints, he has created some-

Possible Premiers Studied

what of a feeling against himself and the Army will not keep quiet. However, it is all right for him to enter the Cabinet merely as a member."

A definite problem may arise in a few days because of the matter mentioned above. KONOYE, President of the Privy Council, was to meet the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal on the 10th. MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, said that many matters would probably be discussed.

Salonji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 351
(20 January 1940)

Yonai Put Into Power

Translated by T/Sgt. Takashi Matsuda

On that day, I met Capt. TAKAGI of the Navy. He was worried over the situation within the Army. He said: "Within the Army, the principle of maintaining secrets does not exist. The antagonism between the various factions, that is, the complex relationship between the high and subordinate commands is the basic cause of this. Consequently, in instances like the Five Ministers' Conference, the gist of the conference is completely known to the subordinates beforehand. Therefore, the poor attitude of the Army is due to its own lack of responsibility. If a new Cabinet is to be formed, one solution is to make a general officer in active service organize a Cabinet. Then, the Army cannot help but take the responsibility. This is one way of solving the situation. Otherwise, put in UGAKI or IKEDA or some other noted figure to take the reins of government. Only, should UGAKI enter (the Cabinet), it will be impossible to suppress those abroad. This is one weakness in regard to having UGAKI. As far as the Army is concerned, there might be various other points like being pinned down on various sore spots."

On the 11th, when I visited the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, he said: "Prince KONOYE cannot possibly be expected to come forward. He is hopeless because he always seems to be running away. After much contemplation, I figure that there is no other alternative but to bring out Admiral YONAI. As I have previously agreed with you,

Yonai Put Into Power

if possible, I want to keep Admiral YONAI as a member of the Naval General Staff, and as a member of the supreme command. However, there is no alternative as there is no other eligible person. Needless to say, preliminary preparations are necessary if Admiral YONAI is going to be the candidate, and something must be done because he is normally unprepared. I am leaving this up to Admiral OKADA."

When I met KONOYE, he said: In regard to my meeting with MUTO, he, from his side, stated that in view of the times, it is better to cancel it. He wanted to see me very badly, but cancelled the interview. Last night, MAYEDA Yonezo had dinner together with KAWAMURA, the Chief of the Military Affairs Section, at a certain place. The observation is that I (KONOYE) was to be dragged out at the request of KAWAMURA. It is beyond reason for a person like a Councillor to be utilized as a messenger by a Chief of the Military Affairs Section." KONOYE was very angry. When I spoke about YUZAWA, he (KONOYE) said: "It seems that YUZAWA together with TAKI and others are deeply engrossed in trying to pull SUGIYAMA in."

I (HARADA) also met the Premier. He said: "There is nothing to do but to dissolve (the Cabinet) because there is no coordination in the Cabinet. The War Minister was first in favor of dissolution, but in the end, the Minister of War and Minister of Navy were both saying: 'Dissolution is undesirable.' As far as I am concerned, I do not want to have the Cabinet just because those influential representatives who have no grounds for arguments make some noise. I desire dissolution for logical reasons."

I again met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and

Yonai Put Into Power

talked about what I heard of YUZAWA from KONOYE. I said: "I heard from various sources that YUZAWA is deeply engaged in a campaign to put SUGIYAMA in." The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal answered: "That particular person stated he was not deeply involved, but it doesn't seem that way." I had previously spoken to YAMAMOTO, the Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Fleet. I told him: "It is vital that Admiral YONAI be used in the future as a member of the Naval General Staff; that is, in the Emperor's supreme command. Because of the above reason, I want to restrain the movement to have him head the Cabinet." At that time, I talked about this matter to IKEDA, YUKI and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and told them that Admiral YAMAMOTO had the same opinion. I wrote about the present inescapable situation and mailed it to Commander-in-Chief YAMAMOTO on the night of the 12th.

On the night of the 13th, I went to Okitsu and reported to the Prince (SAIONJI) of how it came to pass that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal developed the opinion that it would be appropriate to issue an Imperial order to YONAI to organize the succeeding Cabinet. On the same day, MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, arrived from Tokyo about thirty minutes later than I, and spoke to Prince SAIONJI in detail about the situation. Furthermore, he reported that His Majesty requested that those premiers given the privileges of their former posts be summoned to the Palace to express their opinion on the matter to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal for the sake of reference before the petition was submitted to the Throne. It will be arranged that those former premiers meet and the Lord Keeper will listen to their

Yonai Put Into Power

respective opinions. Prince SAIONJI agreed with the above.

I accompanied him (MATSUDAIRA) on the Fuji and returned to Tokyo from Shizuoka. As I was invited by KIDO, I went to his home and conversed on what had taken place. KIDO also said: "It is not desirable to use YUZAWA and it is also not suitable to ask HATTA in during the preliminary preparations because he is the President of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Not only that, but he is rather lacking in political acumen." I said to KIDO: "I am of the opinion that ISHIWATA is best suited as Chief Cabinet Secretary. HIROSE is very well informed in the affairs of the Home Ministry; therefore, it is best that HIROSE and ISHIWATA comply with YONAI in the event an Imperial Command is issued." Then, he (KIDO) said: "Why not let ISHIWATA call for HIROSE for if he (HIROSE) himself mentions this, it might arouse criticism and be embarrassing for him and the matter result in failure?"

I phoned Admiral OKADA about this and related it to MATSUDAIRA and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Early on the morning of the 14th, I went to ISHIWATA's residence, met him, and said: "Probably YONAI will take over the Cabinet this time and he has no help. How about you making up your mind to become the Chief Cabinet Secretary? Even if you have been a Minister before, it will be an experience for you and will be good for you in the future to have had that office. Also it seems very refined. How about it?" ISHIWATA made a clear-cut reply and said:

"I cannot guarantee that I have the ability to be the Chief Cabinet Secretary, but anyway, I will do the best I can."

Saying this, he accepted. Therefore, I told him: "HIROSE will be a good comrade for you. Won't you tell YONAI to

Yonai Put Into Power

call immediately for HIROSE when the Imperial Command is issued?"

As soon as I returned, I phoned Admiral OKADA about the fact that ISHIWATA was going to accept the post. He (OKADA) called Admiral YONAI and under OKADA's instructions, YONAI met with ISHIWATA on the morning of the 14th. They discussed the location of the Cabinet organization headquarters, and the problem of who to call in the event the Imperial Command was issued. On the morning of the 14th, ISHIWATA and Admiral YONAI met at a certain place and decided on the issue.

When the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal called on Prince SAIONJI, he remarked: "When those premiers given the privileges of their former posts are summoned, I intend to request the presence of MAKINO, former Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, also. When I said this, Prince SAIONJI replied: "If MAKINO is summoned now, it will agitate the public and will cause MAKINO embarrassment. It will do more harm than good. Therefore, if this issue is understood, wouldn't it be better if MAKINO is not summoned?" The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal listened to this advice and MAKINO is not going to be summoned. The Prince also said: "It is necessary that some greetings be extended to MAKINO, but won't you express my apologies?"

Therefore, early on the morning of the 14th, I called on Count MAKINO and explained everything in detail and obtained his understanding. MAKINO answered: "I am grateful about Prince SAIONJI's advice. I also understand how the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal feels. Therefore, do not be concerned."

Then, I took the 10:30 a.m. express and once again,

Yonai Put Into Power

I went to Okitsu. In compliance with Prince SAIONJI's desire of simplifying matters by having the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper sent instead of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Chief Secretary was sent to represent the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal to confer with the Genro. From about 12:30 p.m. of the 14th, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal listened to the individual opinions of OKADA, HIRANUMA, KONOYE and KIYOURA (WAKATSUKI being at a distance could not be contacted). It was generally agreed that Admiral YONAI's name be recommended to the Throne. Because KONOYE had made his declination to the Army and other sources, he recommended IKEDA but the others were in favor of YONAI. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was in favor of him (YONAI) from the very beginning. The Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal arrived at Shizuoka with the outcome at 6:00 p.m. and immediately proceeded to Okitsu, reported to Prince SAIONJI, and asked for his opinions. The Prince replied that there were no objections, so he (Secretary) instantly made a phone call to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal from Okitsu saying that the Genro had no objections. At 6:45 p.m. the Emperor summoned Admiral YONAI and at 7:15 p.m., Admiral YONAI proceeded to the Imperial Palace. After reporting, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had dinner and returned to Tokyo.

Admiral YONAI immediately called former Finance Minister ISHIWATA. HIROSE was also summoned and commenced to form the Cabinet. The various ministers were selected, but it was difficult to determine the Minister of Commerce and Industry and the Finance Minister. SAKURAUCHI finally was chosen as Finance Minister and FUJIWARA Ginjiro the

Yonai Put Into Power

Minister of Commerce and Industry. This was something beyond our expectations and thinking it strange, I called on IKEDA by phone and asked: "Did you refuse? Why?" IKEDA answered: "To tell you the truth, I refused. I intended to offer certain suggestions and return to Oiso, but ISHIWATA begged me to stay in Tokyo. I am waiting, but I have had no word yet. I did not know anything about SAKURAUCHI and FUJIWARA becoming the Finance Minister and the Minister of Commerce and Industry, respectively. Therefore, I will bear no responsibility concerning the financial and economic policies of this Cabinet." IKEDA was very wrought up over the matter. This was late at night on the 15th.

I thought it very peculiar and when I reconsidered, it occurred to me that while I was in Tokyo on the 13th, Baron GO had sent word to me saying: "I would like to meet you without fail." I was on the verge of leaving just then and could not possibly meet him. Therefore, I refused his request to meet me on the 14th at 4:30 p.m.

Early on the morning of the 16th, I called ISHIWATA on the phone and asked him: "How did it happen that a person like FUJIWARA was entering the Cabinet? Have you conferred with IKEDA?" He said: "To tell you the truth, I presumed that YUKI and IKEDA would, naturally, be opposed to having FUJIWARA. Although I wanted to have IKEDA, I was told that he would not take the office. I also discussed the situation with Vice-Minister of Commerce and Industry KISHI and he said: 'FUJIWARA is all right. Let's try him.' Such were the circumstances and FUJIWARA was selected."

When I asked ARITA about the situation on the phone,

Yonai Put Into Power

he said: "In fact, at the beginning, ISHIWATA was also against FUJIWARA becoming the Minister of Commerce and Industry. However, OGAWA of the Minseitō and others phoned advising: 'This time, it is vital that industrial capitalists be put into the Cabinet.' I asked the opinion of Baron GO, who happened to be in Tokyo just at that time and he answered: 'I am in favor of it.' The result was: 'Then, let's select FUJIWARA.' Just at that time, everyone thought IKEDA returned to Oiso because some misunderstanding occurred. IKEDA asked: 'Is it all right to return to Oiso?' ISHIWATA answered: 'It is.' For the above reason, FUJIWARA and the others present thought he (IKEDA) returned to Oiso. Those were the circumstances which ended in this outcome, and I have no way of justifying myself to IKEDA. I (ARITA) will call on IKEDA early tomorrow morning and tell him the particulars."

I immediately phoned the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and told him about the situation. He said he heard the rumor that KODAMA will become the Minister of Home Affairs, and people such as OGURI or ANDO will be the Vice-Minister and Chief of the Metropolitan Police. Therefore, I immediately asked HIROSE by phone and he replied: "There is absolutely no such thing; however, I was told to inform KODAMA to consult us as we cannot have strange people brought in." Therefore, I immediately queried KODAMA by phone and found that all these things about OGURI, of course, were false. "I will be as cautious as possible and talk to HIROSE," KODAMA said.

At 3:30 a.m. on the 16th, the list of the Cabinet members was submitted to the Emperor and at 11:00 a.m., the investiture of the new Ministers was held. Thus, the

Yonai Put Into Power

YONAI Cabinet was formed.

On the morning of the 17th, I spoke to HIROSE and ISHIIWATA on the phone. They said: "The disposition (or selection) of personnel by KODAMA is not known. Therefore, advise him once more." I again called and advised KODAMA by phone. He answered: "After deep consideration, I shall also consult HIROSE." I called ARITA and he said he would also advise KODAMA.

On the 17th, there was a phone call from MATSUDAIRA. He said: "The Army is discontented and is complaining because the Emperor summoned the War Minister and said: 'Do cooperate with the new Cabinet.' Furthermore, the rightist groups are saying: 'This time it is the plot of the high officials.' Such a thing results from the fact that they still consider the Emperor as a robot. There is no justification for them. The public should be appreciative and consider it proper for the Emperor to make his own decisions and express his opinions directly to the Supreme Command. This often happened during the reign of Emperor MEIJI. However, rightist and Army groups are saying: 'Such a thing like this is absurd!' and are showing resentment towards the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal."

On the 17th, Prince SAIONJI had a slight cold so I postponed my departure and returned to Tokyo on the evening of the 18th. On the morning of the 19th, when I visited former Minister of Home Affairs OHARA, he said: "The ABE Cabinet made a serious mistake in the beginning. There were many unsatisfactory points particularly in the make-up of the Cabinet. Not only that, but as you and others said, the Chief of the Metropolitan Police, IKEDA, was useless. That was a headache. It is rather difficult

Yonai Put Into Power

to form a Cabinet when the Imperial Command is issued to one who is not always prepared."

On the way home, I called on former Premier ABE and his views were the same as OHARA's. He said: "After all, it is useless unless things are done justly. Administration can hardly run smoothly when there seems to be two nations- one being the Army and the other being something else. It is certainly troublesome. Although I say this, I am an ex-Army man myself and I wanted to improve the conditions within the Army from long before, but I never realized it was this complex. I cannot help but feel ashamed of myself when I think of my shallow understanding." He (ABE) was lamenting over this fact.

Soon afterwards, I parted and returned home. I spoke to YONAI, the new Premier, over the phone about the return of ISHIWATA and HIROSE. Furthermore, I called on MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, who was more or less worried over the Army and the rightists. He said: "Antagonism towards the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal has become very strong."

When I returned home and listened to this and that, there was much criticism of the fact that FUJIWARA became the Minister of Commerce and Industry. The Army hates IKEDA. While Ambassador OSHIMA was in Germany, GOERING said to him: "Japan becomes pro-British because she respects the financial capitalists. Germany finally eliminated a pro-Britisher like SCHACHT and Japan is hopeless unless she respects industrial capitalists instead of financial capitalists."

This was related to the Army high command upon his (OSHIMA) return. Therefore, the Army utilized this material

Yonai Put Into Power

for attacking IKEDA and YUKI and hoped to put in the industrial capitalists. At the same time, it is a fact that GO was always jealous of IKEDA's great power, and it is rather peculiar, but he had a certain amount of personal grudge against IKEDA. Coincidentally, a person who did not know the relations between GO and IKEDA, considered them the same and attacked GO's opinions. This turned out just the way GOH wanted, accidentally, and I regret this fact.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 352
(26 January 1940)

Choice of Yonai Surprises Army

Translated by T/Sgt. Takashi Matsuda

On the morning of the 20th, HOSHINO from Manchukuo came and said: "The present Cabinet appears very weak, but when I heard all about it, I feel like aiding it by some means and making it stable. I met ISHIWATA last night and told him that the Army must be pulled along. Perhaps right now, the Army is realizing that its reputation is bad and anti-Army sentiment is fairly strong all over. It is lamenting over that fact. Therefore, while the Army is feeling desolate, it is necessary that we lend a helping hand and lead the Army so as to avoid mistakes. That is, the discussions on the three basic points of military, diplomacy, and finance must be carried out. The general course of the Cabinet must be determined before the Diet session, and the actual policy of the Cabinet established. That is, when the new government meets the Diet, it will be bound to be immersed in legislation and when the Diet session is over, it will be slandered; therefore, it is necessary to have things determined before there arises any possibility of slander.

"Therefore, first of all, the nation's strength must be discussed and determined and the rebuilding of national defense must be seen to. In order to carry these out, the government and the people must cooperate. At present, the situation appears to be that the people are not cooperating with the government. They (Army) think that the chief executives are being led astray by the high officials around the Throne and no one seems to realize

Choice of Yonai Surprises Army

that we are sincerely concerned over the affairs of the nation. The Army, in general, rather than the rightists, and the young Army officers, is of this opinion. At any rate, the next ten years is dangerous; therefore, it is absolutely necessary to avoid a war. In a situation like this, it seems that everything will run smoothly if the Navy should take the initiative to concede what it ought to concede and help the Army. I talked to Chief Secretary ISHIWATA and probably tomorrow, Sunday, he will call on the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau to encourage the settlement of the issue."

HOSHINO continued: "There are no very great figures in the Army now anyway. Also, it is said that SHODA will be supported, but when the Army is asked: 'Who is going to support SHODA?', there is no answer. If we carry out a decisive move, even the Army can be led."

He (HOSHINO) thinks UMEZU was best informed about the present situation in Manchukuo and that the time will certainly come when UMEZU's help will be needed in order to rebuild the Army. It is necessary to have UMEZU return to Tokyo in a year or two and straighten matters out; therefore, we do not want to have him ruined before then.

After HOSHINO returned home, I went to the Ministry of the Imperial Household, met the Minister of the Imperial Household from about 10:30 p.m. and told him of the recent developments since the political shakeup. From the afternoon of the 21st, I went with my children to the Fujiya Hotel in Miyanoshita and had dinner with Admiral NOMURA and his wife who were staying there. After much conversation, the Admiral spoke about the

Choice of Yonai Surprises Army

situation in the Foreign Ministry and said: "There are good points about the Foreign Ministry and it is difficult to judge just by looking in from the outside. It is really complicated."

On my return trip, I stopped at Oiso, called on IKEDA from about 9:00 p.m. and conversed till about 10:00 p.m. That night, I stayed at my villa in Oiso. IKEDA had said: "The other day, ARITA came and talked about the error in the problem relative to the selection of the Minister of Commerce and Industry and the Finance Minister at the time when the Cabinet was formed. I was able to comprehend matters. I thought it better to have Baron GO explain if IZAWA becomes the Minister of Commerce and Industry. I mentioned Baron GO's name and I thought perhaps I should also go and make explanations but as long as FUJIWARA has become the Minister of Commerce and Industry, I cannot say anything in regard to matters pertaining to finance and economics." It seemed that IKEDA had no bad feelings towards Baron GO as the Baron had towards IKEDA.

On the 22nd, on the way home, I stopped at the residence of SUMITOMO in Fujisawa and returned to Tokyo in the evening. According to the evening papers, the Prince (SAIONJI) again had some fever. Greatly startled, I called Okitsu by phone and found out that his condition was not too good. Then, I phoned Hachiro (son of SAIONJI). Soon the newspapers became clamorous so I thought it better not to start on that day and purposely took my time.

On the morning of the 23rd, I called on MATSUDAIRA and asked him about the recent activities of the Army.

Choice of Yonai Surprises Army

In the afternoon, I invited Ambassador HOTTA, former Foreign Minister NOMURA, former Chief Secretary SHIRANE, and OGURA of Sumitomo together with KIDO, and had a lengthy conversation. KIDO said: "Because the present Cabinet is too dexterous, it has incurred ill-feeling. If it had held a series of conferences and had met two or three times with those premiers given the privileges of their former posts, and the Cabinet finally formed after about two days of discussion, would it not have been better? He (KIDO) was all the more worried over the fact that the Cabinet was formed rather quickly and advancing smoothly.

KIDO continued: "The Army seems to be very unhappy and enraged over the fact that an Imperial Command was issued to Admiral YONAI suddenly and without any warning in spite of the Army's sincere expression of opinion to the effect that HATA is all right if there is no other alternative."

According to our own information or rather, the proposal of the Army was: "The Army absolutely does not want to support any general in active service. It is troublesome if we should make the mistake of selecting a general in active service on top of the existing antipathy towards the military. Not only that, but if there is a good general in the Reserves it is fine, but UGAKI, mentioned before, is not desirable. This is because he is the general who proposed the reduction of military strength by four divisions. This time, the withdrawal of larger troops than that, adjusting the occupied areas, and many other things may have to be carried out simultaneously contrary to the expectations of some parties.

Choice of Yonai Surprises Army

In that event, a general who has been known as such, will meet with difficulties as things might work against him. Therefore, UGAKI is not the appropriate man this time." Such were the explanations and the reasons revealed in regard to the opposition to UGAKI by the Army.

I (HARADA) went to Okitsu in the evening because Prince SAIONJI was not too well. On that very evening, the Asama Maru Incident occurred. Thirty-three miles off shore near Nojima Point, there was a ship bound for the United States out of Yokohama with about 40 German nationals aboard. Some 20 Germans on board who were connected with oil tankers, were transferred to a British battleship. Moreover, the ship was ordered to stop under the threat of being fired upon. This fact stung the feelings of the general public of Japan and gave rise to anti-British sentiment. Different circles protested to the Government about this and it again became a cause for attacking the statesmen around the Throne and resulted in a movement that pro-British and pro-American sentiments are absurd.

I reached Okitsu at 8:00 p.m. and immediately proceeded to the residence of Prince SAIONJI. He said he wanted to meet me at his sick-bed, so I went to his room. I said: "How are you feeling? It is really too bad." The Prince said: "Thanks for coming over so late at night. In fact, I want to hear about the political situation, but it is late tonight and I am in this condition so let me hear about it later."

Then I went to KUMAGAYA's room and talked to Hachiro. He said that he had kept a close watch over him (Prince) from the 22nd to the 25th, that the Prince

Choice of Yonai Surprises Army

received milk from the Emperor, that he received three pots of orchids from the Emperor and Empress, and that the Prince rejoiced over this in bed.

From the 25th to the 26th, KIDO came to inquire after the condition of Prince SAIONJI. Therefore, we talked over various matters. According to him, previous to the formation of the present Cabinet, the Army was firmly convinced that the Imperial command would be issued to Gen. HATA. For example, Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau MUTO was confused as to the question of who was to be the Chief Cabinet Secretary and the use of the residence of the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry for the headquarters to organize the new Cabinet. It seemed that they (Army) thought an order (Imperial) was to be issued when the Emperor through the chief Aide-de-Camp, told the Minister of War to withhold the order. As I said before, the summons from the Emperor came after the order was issued to YONAI. His Majesty not only said to cooperate, but also inquired: "What is the attitude of the Army towards the new Cabinet?" War Minister HATA answered: "The Army will unite and cooperate with the new Cabinet." "Fine. Do cooperate," said the Emperor. Therefore, HATA was not summoned to be told simply to cooperate. This is the difference between the true facts and what went out as rumors and resulted in misunderstanding. In brief, the misunderstanding and the fact that secrecy was kept unexpectedly well in conjunction with the formation of the Cabinet, were the causes for the creation of ill-feeling and the formation of the Cabinet referred to as a sort of intrigue. Although it has been said that the foregoing is particularly MATSUDAIRA's doing,

Choice of Yonai Surprises Army

people have been saying directly to him: "It's unpardonable, kill him off!" Furthermore: "Get rid of HARADA, for he is the main plotter!" Words to this effect seem to have been heard the other day. Almost all of today's newspapers instigate anti-British feeling centered around the Asama Maru Incident which indicates a campaign of: "Down with the pro-British and pro-Americans!" directed against the Genro and the court statesmen. As for the government, it is making all efforts to invite the leaders of the House of Representatives and the House of Peers to admonish the political parties, and doing everything possible.

On the other hand, as of today, January 26th, the Commercial Treaty between Japan and the United States becomes ineffective. There are many who are worried over this, but the American Government repeatedly states that relations will not be injured on account of that.

Saionji - Harada, Memoirs

Chapter 353
(7 February 1940)

Rallying the Ex-Premiers

Translated by T/Sgt. Takashi Matsuda

On the 27th, former Premier HIROTA came to inquire after Prince SAIONJI's health. On the way home, we had a luncheon together at the Minaguchiya. At that time, he mentioned: "Until now, those who have headed the cabinets have had no opportunity to be of direct aid to the Emperor once they have stepped out of Government office and are at loss. In critical times like these, I wonder if there is a way to serve the Emperor." Then, I said: "There are many groundless rumors concerning the political situation of today and the people are double-crossing each other. This presents many unpleasant sights. Therefore, ex-premiers should meet two or three times a month and exchange their opinions, and in certain cases, those concerned with the Government should be invited and the intentions of the administration discussed. Also, if there is any advice to be made to the Government from among those present, perhaps it might be vital to have them presented personally. In this manner, groundless rumors will perish and there will be less estrangement. This will have a good effect on society. At least, the groundless rumors and estrangement will disappear, enabling the Government to operate more smoothly. I think it is undesirable to ask the Government to organize these meetings; on the contrary, such a meeting should be held automatically and I consider the beginning of such meetings very pertinent.

"For instance, to cite a necessary example; the other

Rallying the Ex-Premiers

day before Admiral YONAI was ordered to form a Cabinet, the Emperor asked the War Minister to withhold the order through the Chief Aide-de-Camp. Then, as I said before, the Army thought the order was issued and became clamorous. In reality, the Emperor meant to ask about the general attitude of the Army towards the new Cabinet and immediately summoned the War Minister and said: 'The cabinet will be changed and the YONAI Cabinet will be formed. What is the attitude of the Army?' HATA answered: 'We shall unite and of course help the Cabinet.' In response to this the Emperor lightly said: 'Then it is fine. Anyway, please cooperate with them.' But, in spite of this, the outside world was notified that a special request for cooperation was issued and that the officials close to the Throne encouraged the issuance of the order forcing the Army to cooperate with the Cabinet. This created various problems. This is a serious mistake. Such a thing is a matter between the Emperor and the War Minister and any conjecture should be avoided, but the fact remains. Therefore, in times like these, is it not necessary to clarify any doubts at least once?

"Also, at the time when the order was issued to Admiral YONAI, the Emperor, because he trusted YONAI, simply stated: 'First, the Constitution must not be abused. Secondly, the selection of the ministers must be prudent.' I heard the above from the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal when he came to inquire after Prince SAIONJI's health in Otsu. There are many groundless rumors even in connection with the above, and it is undesirable for the Premier or the officials close to the Throne to reveal every fact to the public. However, it is perfectly all

Rallying the Ex-Premiers.

right to reveal the situation to ex-premiers. Not only that, but it is all right to reveal other facts to noted figures such as ex-premiers."

Then, former Premier HIROTA said: "To tell you the truth, I want to meet Chief Secretary ISHIWATA or the Premier himself when there is time and talk to them about the conditions of district administration in Kyushu, which I heard when I recently visited my native village. I want you to make arrangements so that I can see them about it."

For that reason, I phoned the Premier and Chief Secretary after HIROTA left Okitsu and briefly informed them about the above matter. Also, I passed on this message to Baron IWAKURA, who had also come to inquire after Prince SAIONJI's health. Moreover, I told the Premier and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: "I want you to ask Baron IWAKURA for further details."

For instance, in order to find an occasion to meet with the former premiers, perhaps the Premier can invite all former premiers one evening and say: "For the sake of our country and in view of the seriousness of the present situation, I ask for your help after obtaining a thorough understanding of the position of the government." If such a thing can be done, it may be an impetus towards finding an opportunity to have the meeting of the former premiers. I asked him to convey this to Baron IWAKURA also.

On February 1st, Prince KONOYE came to call on Prince SAIONJI, and as usual, I had dinner with him at the Minaguchiya (restaurant). KONOYE said, at that time; "There is evidence that the Chief Secretary to the Lord

Rallying the Ex-Premiers

Keeper of the Privy Seal told INUKAI beforehand that YONAI will be the Premier. INUKAI came to me and said: "It is said that it will be YONAI this time." I was surprised and asked: "Who told you?" "MATSUDAIRA told me," he answered. At the same time it seems that SAKAI and USUI of the General Staff Headquarters also heard about it." I told KONOYE: "According to MATSUDAIRA, INUKAI was saying that it will be YONAI so MATSUDAIRA asked: 'Whom did you hear it from?' INUKAI answered: 'I heard it from KONOYE.'" When I said this, KONOYE was very surprised. I (HARADA) said: "I think MATSUDAIRA was tricked."

At any rate, it is an undesirable thing to have information leak out before the actual event takes place from people like the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. As for MATSUDAIRA, he probably did not mean to point out YONAI only. There is no doubt that YONAI's name was one of three or four persons mentioned, but INUKAI said so because he is very sensitive about those things. For future reference, I shall also caution MATSUDAIRA concerning this and after agreeing to meet with KIDO and KONOYE upon my return to Tokyo to discuss these problems, I took my leave.

KONOYE said: "Two factions of the Seiyukai and probably the majority of the Minseito are carefully observing the attitude of the Army towards the Cabinet. The attitude of the political parties will depend upon the attitude of the Army. The political parties are really slovenly." I said to KONOYE: "There are many people in the political parties who ingratiate themselves with the Army, thereby giving the impression of

Rallying the Ex-Premiers

being slovenly. Also, as you told me, because real criticism of the Army is not openly revealed to those surrounding you, there is the tendency to cater to the Army all the more. Aren't these groups of people making complaints because of a mistaken conception that KONOYE will cooperate completely with the movements of the Army? Is that what makes you lack in understanding?"

KONOYE himself, considered the problem concerning WANG Ching-wei very difficult and he said: "If Commander-in-Chief OIKAWA, who is in Shanghai, and his Naval units will attack Chungking once more, perhaps the end will approach. There is talk about employing several divisions to launch an attack and those in favor of this are making numerous comments. Also, on the other hand, some support the view that Japan should quickly withdraw her troops from China because Chungking becomes ever stronger. It is hard to judge." Then, KONOYE returned to Tokyo aboard the evening train.

On February 2nd, Admiral OKADA came to inquire after Prince SAIONJI's health and I had lunch with him. Admiral OKADA said: "The rightist groups, such as the SUETSUGU and NAKANO Seigo factions, are making plans to riot and declare martial law to gain an opportunity for themselves to come to the fore. It may not be serious, but they are actually doing it. Furthermore, there are two sides - one does not favor a military administration and the other is in favor of it. There are some who want the actual power in the hands of the Army by using a figurehead. There seem to be different types of groups." When KONOYE came the other day he was discussing MATSUDAIRA and INUKAI. Therefore, I spoke to him

Rallying the Ex-Premiers

about relaying Admiral OKADA's warning to MATSUDAIRA.

Gradually, the Prince (SAIONJI) recovered. During the period between the 17th or 18th of last month and today, the 25th and the 26th appeared to be the most serious period. However, his condition at present is the same as if he had completely recovered.

I went to Tokyo on the 6th and met Foreign Minister ARITA at his official residence early on the morning of the 7th. He said: "I want to ask a favor of you. This Cabinet is planning to fill the vacancies in the state council and I would like to recommend HIROTA after MATSUOKA resigns. There is ABO from the Navy so SUETSUGU needs no replacement. In place of Gen. MATSUI of the Army, because of his relation with the rightists, Gen. OI will be placed. It is desirable that MOCHIZUKI Keisuke be selected from the Home Ministry circles. It is not very good this way but I want to decide this quickly. MOCHIZUKI and OI will not present a problem but HIROTA said he would not accept. I intend to advise him once more, but won't you ask him to accept the office too?" I told Minister ARITA: "Of course, the Premier knows about this, but I am going to meet the Premier and I will speak to him and I shall call on HIROTA afterwards."

I arranged an appointment with HIROTA and he told me to come around 10:30, so I called at the home of Premier YONAI and conversed with him. The Premier said: "Generally speaking, the Cabinet is in good shape. FUJIWARA, the Minister of Commerce and Industry, is doing better than expected. It is fine. At the Diet meeting, the political groups are no different from before and they are exceedingly inactive. I may be called very

Rallying the Ex-Premiers

unkind, but I do not intend to speak much at the session. There is no alternative except to comply with the existing situation. After the session, we must take decisive actions again." As to the change to HIROTA for State Councillor, he (YONAI) agreed with the Foreign Minister and said: "Please ask him to do so."

Therefore, on the way home, I first went to the Diet and listened to the answers of the Railways Minister and the Foreign Minister at the House of Peers. The Railways Minister reported on the accident at Osaka and the Foreign Minister on the progress of the negotiations with the British concerning the Asama Maru Incident.

After listening to these two speeches, I called on HIROTA and told him that it was the request of the Premier and the Foreign Minister that he accept the councillorship. HIROTA was critically expressing his opinions on the present administration, therefore I told him: "If you have those opinions and such understandings, you should become a Councillor, meet the Premier and the Cabinet members, and personally give advice. After all, Admiral YONAI has been ordered to be the Premier, and as he is unfamiliar with the state of affairs, how about giving him your assistance?" He (HIROTA) replied: "What would the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal think?" I answered: "I shall speak to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal about this and convey his opinions to you later."

I then left HIROTA's home, returned and called the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal by phone. He said: "In my position, I cannot say positively what he should do, but considering his past career, I think he should accept the office as a way of serving the Emperor in view of the

Rallying the Ex-Premiers

present situation. That is, if requested by the Government."

I immediately called HIROTA on the phone and told him the above. He answered: "Previously, during the KONOYE Cabinet, there were some negotiations about my becoming a State Councillor or a Privy Councillor, but I refused both positions. Because of that, if the Army will obtain KONOYE's understanding, I shall accept the office."

Before I started for Okitsu I hurriedly wrote a letter in the station master's office at Shimbashi Station to ARITA who was attending a General Budget meeting of the House of Representatives and dispatched by messenger, a detailed report of my visit to HIROTA, the request of the Foreign Minister and the Premier, and the highlights of the conversation.

I reached Okitsu and in the evening, I phoned Foreign Minister ARITA reporting the progress of the conference with HIROTA in detail. Foreign Minister ARITA said: "I shall immediately communicate with KONOYE so that the matters can begin to take shape."

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 354
(26 February 1940)

Saito Incident in Diet

Translated by T/Sgt. Takashi Matsuda

On the 12th, there were replacements in the Council and only HIROTA, OI, Admiral NAKAMURA, and MOCHIZUKI Keisuke became Councillors. I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal in Tokyo on the 14th and asked him about the recent developments. He said: "The Minister of Home Affairs is very weak." There weren't many other important things he mentioned.

When I met the Minister of the Imperial Household, he was relating that the Emperor will go to Ise because the Emperor of Manchukuo is coming to Ise in May. The Emperor is going there beforehand. According to the explanations of the Minister of the Imperial Household, the Emperor is going alone in view of the times. I met the Minister of the Imperial Household, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Grand Chamberlain, and the Vice Grand Chamberlain at the Imperial Palace and expressed my gratitude for the gifts Prince (SAIONJI) received from the Emperor and reported on the condition of Prince SAIONJI.

On the way home, I conferred with the Premier. He said: "To tell you the truth, I wasn't going to take anybody in place of SUETSUGU, but Adm. NAKAMURA was in the same class with Admiral SUETSUGU and Admiral NAKAMURA was always superior to SUETSUGU; therefore, although I had no intention of taking him, I selected him (NAKAMURA) as Councillor. That SAITO problem is really annoying." Then, I said:

Saito Incident in Diet

"In response to the question brought up by OGURA Masatsune, representing the Kansai (District), relative to the electric power question, the best policy for the government is to give a sincere answer." The Premier answered: "We shall carry it out as thoroughly as possible." Therefore, I felt somewhat relieved. Furthermore, the Premier said: "I have been told that YUASA, IKEDA and Admiral OKADA are the main targets of the rightists; it is really dangerous."

On the way home, I met the Chief Cabinet Secretary, and he said: "The most troublesome problem is the question of ousting SAITO Takao (from Diet) and it may not be solved unless it goes as far as expulsion." He was very worried over this.

On the 16th, I went to Okitsu. On the 18th, the Grand Chamberlain came to inquire after Prince SAIONJI's health, in a private capacity. When he was granted an audience by His Majesty to obtain permission to come to Okitsu, there was a consolatory word to the Prince from the Emperor. The Grand Chamberlain said to SAIONJI Hachiro: "When I met the Emperor in order to receive permission, His Majesty said: 'Take him some wine.' Therefore, I received the gift. At the same time, His Majesty said: 'Please tell Prince SAIONJI that I was worried because at one time I heard his condition was bad. However, he is improving and I am happy to know that. Tell him to be very careful of his health.'" Hachiro was deeply impressed and conveyed the message to Prince SAIONJI. Through Hachiro, the Prince relayed his

Saito Incident in Diet

expression of gratitude to the Grand Chamberlain.

Before returning home, the Grand Chamberlain, Hachiro, and I had dinner together.

On the 21st, UGAKI came to call, but he did not have anything important to say. On that afternoon, KONO'E's son was reporting for active service in Manch' kuo, and since KONOYE and his wife were going to Kyoto on the Kamome (train), I rode with them from Numazu to Shizuoka and saw their son off. On the train, KONOYE said: "There is great news! It is said that KUNG Hsiang-hsi (H. H. Kung) escaped from Chungking to Hanoi. Therefore, Chungking is all excited. The relation with WANG Ching-wei is not clear as yet, but anyway, this is great news." Later when I called the Foreign Minister on the phone from Okitsu, I found it was not an escape; for it seemed that he came to meet the Governor-General of French Indo-China and so it does not appear to be a favorable development for us.

Since then, the budget bill passed the House of Representatives on the 23rd and was sent to the House of Peers. I spoke to the Chief Cabinet Secretary over the phone. He said: "As far as the government is concerned on the ousting of SAITO, the opinion is that he shall have to be expelled by all means. There is considerable opposition to this expulsion in the higher circles and in the political parties; however, this was determined as a national policy and all opposition must be crushed as far as the government is concerned. Therefore, it is inevitable that strong action be taken."

Saito Incident in Diet

On the 22nd, I left Okitsu with Hachiro (son of SAIONJI) in order to return to Tokyo, and on the way, I was granted an audience by Prince TAKAMATSU, who resided at Ito in Izu. I reported the conditions which existed before the formation of the ABE Cabinet and the details of the formation of the present YONAI Cabinet.

On the morning of the 24th, when I visited IKEDA in Oiso, he said: "When the Diet session is over, this Cabinet will probably settle down. Since the Army is in such a situation, it will prove troublesome. No matter how one thinks, it will be troublesome if the military is made to take over next and lead us off the track into a peculiar situation. However, perhaps there is no solution except to let them (Army) assume the responsibility. At the same time I want to be on good terms with the United States." He was concerned over the relations between Japan and the United States.

On the evening of the 25th, I went to Tokyo and on the morning of the 26th, I called on the Chief Cabinet Secretary at his official residence and had a long talk. As usual, he was keenly concerned over the question of SAITO's expulsion. He said: "In certain cases, dissolution is unavoidable; however, if it is to be dissolved, preliminary preparations are necessary so that the results will be good. At the same time, I spoke to Premier YONAI. The present Ambassador to the United States is useless. He is always taking trips and not doing any actual work. Not only that, but he is too conservative. Therefore,

Saito Incident in Diet

NOMURA or someone who is more reliable should be placed there. SATO, HIROTA or MATSUDAIRA are suitable also. ARIMA does not take any action, so won't you speak to him once."

Then, I visited the Premier at his residence and spoke to him for about an hour. The Premier said: "The question of expulsion is troublesome and something must be done to settle it. At any rate, we must send someone to the United States. There is nothing important in the House of Peers. After the Diet Session is over, we will settle down as much as possible." I told him: "That is fine. Do put in your full effort." I also told him about the condition of Prince SAIONJI and left.

On the 29th, I was invited to IKEDA's home and I heard that Count KABAYAMA Aisuke is leaving for the United States and that there is to be a farewell party. At any rate IKEDA was very worried over Japanese-American relations. From the standpoint of the government and from every angle, he seemed to be keenly concerned about the relations between Japan and the United States, especially in the fields of economics, trade and finance.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 355
(3 March 1940)

State of Foreign Affairs

Translated by T/Sgt. Takashi Matsuda

Premier YONAI and Chief Cabinet Secretary

ISHIWATA repeatedly said in connection with the problem concerning the Ambassador to the United States:

"ARITA does not handle personnel affairs. No doubt, HORINOUCHI is a capable person, but he is not suited to America at present. It is irritating to see this from the side-lines. Foreign Minister ARITA does not heed our words although we say this and that to him; therefore, I want you to speak to the Foreign Minister."

On the 29th, when I met Foreign Minister ARITA, he said: "In reality, it is very difficult no matter who is sent now. It is hopeless unless the conditions here change." I told him: "However, wouldn't it be better to say that everything possible has been done by the Foreign Minister and the personnel has been changed, but that it is useless. In this manner won't the people be convinced?" The Foreign Minister said: "That's true too. There is no true diplomacy in Japan now. There is nothing but domestic administration and no matter how much effort is put into diplomacy, there are abstractions and it is really difficult. It will be useless unless the men we send to the United States are pro-British and pro-American in their heart yet show something contrary on the surface." A person like former Ambassador DEBUCHI was most appropriate. However, the atmosphere of Washington and New York was against him and he was ousted by the Japanese in New York. At that time, I regretted

State of Foreign Affairs

the fact very much.

On the morning of the 28th, I proceeded to the Imperial Palace to relay the Prince's refusal of the gifts (Emperor's), to the Grand Chamberlain and Vice-Chamberlain. At night, Count KODAMA and the Home Minister came and had dinner with me. In the conversation, the main topic was the problem of rice. It was mentioned that Osaka will run out of supply within three days. The Home Minister said: "I will arrange to have some government rice sent."

On the 29th, I (HARADA) met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. He said: "Recently, there have been rumors that the present political shake-up is the plot of YUASA and OKADA. Also, there is talk about the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal YUASA's resignation and there is a movement to put in HIRANUMA or ABE." He was very happy to know that the Prince (SAIONJI) is gradually recovering.

In the evening I left for Okitsu. The Prince (SAIONJI) said: "I'll see you on March 3rd." Therefore, I phoned the Premier on the 2nd. The Premier said: "The insurance problem of the Industrial Association was finally settled and it will be discontinued. It seems that SAITO, himself, has decided to resign. The movement to establish a new political party resulted in failure. The rightists seem to be calming down gradually."

Furthermore, I heard from the Foreign Minister about the situation. He said: "The pending issue with the Soviet is not progressing. We are observing the developments with the United States, and the

State of Foreign Affairs

discussion of the Yangtze problem will be resumed in the near future. There is a prospect of a solution to the Tientsin problem with Great Britain. Caution is necessary in connection with the fact that the captain of the Deutschland (German warship) arrived as a naval attache this time. Previously TREPITZ had Russia become friendly to Germany through HINTZE, Naval Attache, and this action might be repeated here. In Japan Proper, there is an inclination to be pro-German, so considerable caution is needed."

Next I called the Finance Minister on the phone. He said: "The Minseito might create a commotion, but the SAITO problem will be solved because of his own resignation. The War and Navy Ministers and the Premier conferred and it was decided that the Army and Navy will say nothing concerning this problem. Furthermore, there is an anti-government feeling in the Diet and the problem on taxation is somewhat troublesome. However, this problem has many good points so it ought to be improved. Also, the establishment of the WANG Ching-Wei regime was thought to be possible around the middle of March, but it may be postponed until the first part of April."

When I spoke to KODAMA, the Minister of Home Affairs, he said: "There is no effect on peace and order. There is the problem of rice, but it will be gradually solved."

Vice-Minister TANI said over the phone: "Because of the presidential election, President ROOSEVELT is sending TAYLOR (a Catholic) to Rome to visit the Pope; on the other hand, he had WELLES,

State of Foreign Affairs

the Under-Secretary of State, meet MUSSOLINI and Foreign Minister CIANO to express the opinions of the neutral countries concerning military disarmament and the situation in general. The United States is sounding out the European situation by observing the war situation in Germany, there is a feeling of a desire for peace. It appears that England and France intend to eliminate HITLER at all costs. Germany is saying that the offensive will begin in April by employing air power and cruisers. Ambassador OTT, the German Ambassador to Japan, came to the Foreign Ministry the other day and said he wanted clear markings on the Japanese ships. That is, in order to send material to aid Germany through Vladivostok, ships often reload them into Japanese freighters at Kobe. The British ships presenting obstacles to such action will be dealt with appropriately by German ships. Therefore, the German Ambassador was worried over this."

Furthermore, the situation in Finland is bad. From the standpoint of the existing condition in Europe, although there is the Nine-Power Pact concerning the establishment of any new regime, England, France and Italy might recognize the WANG Regime. Only the United States will not recognize the regime, sticking to the Nine-Power Pact. These feelings are reflected in Tokyo and there is an anti-American atmosphere and in another respect, anti-British feelings are becoming stronger."

I (HARADA) reported the above to Prince (SAIONJI) on the morning of March 2nd. This was the first report since he recovered from his illness and realizing that he may become fatigued, I made a very short report and left

State of Foreign Affairs

on the morning of the 3rd and returned to Tokyo.

On the 4th I had some business so I met KONOYE and others. KONOYE said: "The War Minister phoned on March 3 and stated that he wanted to meet me. When I met him, he said: 'The Army intends to establish the WANG Government but it is very difficult. We would like to terminate the war quickly by some means.'" The War Minister says big things but he is in a tight situation and wants to terminate the war by some method. However, the Army is quiet this time and he wants to send AKIYAMA or someone to negotiate directly with CHIANG Kai-shek and terminate the war even a day sooner. The other day, we spoke to STUART through WANG Ko-min and through STUART, negotiated with the Chungking Government. That leaked to WANG Ching-wei and as a result, he was shocked. Things became complicated with WANG Ching-wei and it is almost hopeless unless we deal directly with Chungking. From one viewpoint, AKIYAMA Teisuke may also be connected with CHIANG Kai-shek because he (AKIYAMA) is said to be acting as a spy for Russia. He may even be receiving money from CHIANG. From my viewpoint, however, this war could have been avoided if we had enticed CHIANG Kai-shek by spending a 100 million (yen). For that reason, when I was the former Premier, I was going to send MIYAZAKI in place of AKIYAMA, but he was captured by the Kemper-tai at Kobe. As a result, I said it is useless to do those things. War Minister HATA also said the Army will not say anything so he will leave it up to me. When I spoke to AKIYAMA, he said: 'You are still a fool after three years of hardships!' It is all right to speak about this to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, but please refrain from telling it to anyone else. This is a very important matter and I will

State of Foreign Affairs

carry on in secret."

On the evening of the 4th, the American Ambassador and his wife invited Mr. and Mrs. DOOMAN, Count KABAYAMA, and Mrs. ARITA, and held a leisurely farewell party at the Shinkiraku for KABAYAMA who is going to the United States. The American Ambassador was very happy. Count KABAYAMA said: "The American Ambassador, and CASTLE in America, are exerting all their efforts relying on the fact that the sole desire of the Emperor is good-will relations with the United States."

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 356
(13 March 1940)

Kano Analyzes British Interests

Translated by Lt. Khe-Beng Chiong

On the morning of the 7th, while KANO, who had just returned from London, and I were discussing the Japanese domestic situation and the conditions existing in England at the breakfast table, KANO stated: "In dealing with the present China problem and other diplomatic problems, it will be a great loss to Japan, unless the potential power of Great Britain is taken into consideration. It is important to maintain favorable relation with Britain. Therefore, I met HIRANUMA yesterday and spoke to him on various matters. He did not seem to have any objection to my idea. Still, I could not be sure whether he fully understood my point of view or not and felt that I could not rely on him." KANO left my place after stating: "I shall call on Gen. UGAKI."

After his visit with Gen. UGAKI, KANO again dropped in to see me. He said: "It seemed to me that UGAKI understands what I had to say more than anyone I know." It happened that SHODA Kazue was visiting me on private business. Therefore, I had him meet KANO and they discussed various matters. SHODA was very delighted and agreed with everything KANO had to say. KANO stated: "I was of the opinion that SHODA's views would differ somewhat with mine, but I am surprised to learn that it is completely the same as mine." He left us after discussing the problems of economics and finance until 2:30 p.m.

Kano Analyzes British Interests

Because I stayed home on account of a cold, Capt. TAKAGI, of the Navy Staff College, came over about noon of the 8th and we had lunch together. We discussed various matters and rumors but there was nothing worth mentioning. In regard to the SAITO case, on that very day, it was decided to dismiss him.

I went to Oiso on the 10th and spent one day, the 11th there and came back at noon on the next day to IKEDA's place for the purpose of attending the farewell party for KANO. I met YUKI, KONOYE, TSUSHIMA and Ambassador YOSHIDA at the party.

On the way home, I was on the same automobile with KONOYE and when I asked him about the latest developments, he replied: "Nothing has been reported from the Army." I (HARADA) finally told him: "I am very concerned over the fact that you entered into the Chungking negotiations." To this, KONOYE merely replied: "Of course there is cause to worry, but it can't be helped." I further told KONOYE: "When every possible effort has been made to base our China policy on the 'KONOYE statement' during the last three Cabinets, it is hard to believe that you, the author of the 'KONOYE statement' attempted to contradict your own policy. This situation is extremely unpleasant. Do you follow me? When your action is disclosed to the public, YONAI might say: 'I will resign because I cannot see how I can go on like this.' Suppose you (KONOYE) were placed in YONAI's place, what would you do?" To this, KONOYE replied: "I would resign."

On the evening of the 12th, I went over to ARITA's Mejiro home. He stated: "The Army sent word that they

Kano Analyzes British Interests

were in favor of sending ABE as a special envoy to China rather than HIROTA. Because of this, ABE was selected. This decision was mainly based on the strong demand of the Army officers now stationed in China."

ARITA further stated: "It is really a nuisance to have YANAGAWA of the Asia Development Board and others, who know very little about the problem, try to carry out unofficial negotiations with Chungking. It is a great loss to give away our secrets to the enemy and furthermore it makes various plans which could otherwise be accomplished, impossible of being carried out. Therefore, we really should be very careful. It is very distressing to have such a thing done.

"The situation within the Cabinet is very good. Comparing colleagues with the personnel of the preceding cabinets, the present Cabinet is tractable and well qualified. Therefore, matters are being carried out very smoothly."

A few days ago, on my way to Oiso, I (HARADA) met former Premier HIROTA on the train and spoke to him. When I informed ARITA of this, he stated: "It seems as though he has become very cautious these days. HIROTA was not that way before he became Premier. He is losing his good quality and becoming more and more the cautious layman."

When I (HARADA) met HIROTA, he said that he was for sending a military man as ambassador to China. When I met Minister KATO Sotomatsu accidentally at the Tokyo Club a few days ago, he told me: "Considering every angle, I am fully convinced that Prince KONOYE is the man for the mission. Would you work on that?"

Kano Analyzes British Interests

The following information was given me by KANO:

"Japan must make good use of England because the utilization of British power in Asia is invaluable in getting China in good shape and also in developing the Orient. This was brought into full discussion with Gen. ITAGAKI and his staff officers one evening in Nanking in a continuous discussion which lasted almost seven hours. With Anglo-Japanese cooperation as the theme, I expressed my ideas to Gen. ITAGAKI and his staff officers. I stated: 'I am going back to England again. Before I go back, I want to make this clear to you. If you think England is indecent in any way, there must be many examples and related facts you can give me. Can you give me the concrete facts regarding them?' ITAGAKI replied: 'It will take 200 or 300 years before British power is driven from the Orient. I don't think that it can be done now. You request for some concrete examples of England's officiousness. Of course, I can give you some examples, but I do not think they are particularly worth mentioning. The examples and facts I have in mind are rather insignificant. I confess that we are prejudiced against Britain. At a crucial time like this, there is no need to give way to feelings and say things which might be to the disadvantage of Japan. When a thing is not right, let us say so; when it is good, let us look upon it as such and cooperate with each other.'

"I (KANO) further said: 'Before returning to Japan, I spoke to both the Minister and Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of England. At that time, I made three observations regarding the rights and interests of Great Britain in the Orient. According to England, the rights and

Kano Analyzes British Interests

interests of Britain in the Orient, were based on six business firms: Jardine, Matheson and Co. Ltd.; the British Asiatic Petroleum Co.; the British Asiatic Tobacco Co.; the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank; and Butterfield. These six business firms were established some 100 or 200 years ago in China. If you trace back the history of China, you will find that there have been various incidents in the past. There is also a possibility that business might be interrupted for two or three years as a result of war. This might be insulting, but for the six business firms, interruption of business for two or three years is nothing. All we ask is the chance to be able to carry on normal business. There is no intention to make any political move to drive the existing power of Japan from China. In fact, it cannot be done even if attempted. Therefore, if the continuance of business is made possible, it will mean that the already existing rights and interests (of England) are recognized.

"The second group - the British who went to China and became indoctrinated with Chinese ways are upstarts. They have been engaged in various enterprises for 50 - 60 years but this group is a minor one. In the long run, this group cannot remain in China at a time like this when Japan is about to expand its power in China. As far as the British Government is concerned, she has no intention of protecting this group.

"The third group consists of Jewish businessmen and bankers who came to China because they disliked paying higher interest while they operated their businesses in England. They are living in China under the

Kano Analyzes British Interests

protection of the British flag and engaged in business. Again, the British Government has no interest in protecting them. It is the second and third groups that have clashed with our Army. Therefore, the lawful rights of the British can be determined by talking to the first group, i.e., the six business firms. There is no reason for the expulsion of all of them.'

"When I finished, Gen. ITAGAKI and the other staff officers seemed to concur with my opinion. On my way home, some younger staff officers told me (KANO): 'You will be able to bring back a good present to England, when you return there. Certainly you are the first person to be given such a promise from our Chief of Staff.'" (The foregoing has been KANO's story).

When I told ARITA that I had spoken to KANO several times in the last week, he (ARITA) also stated: "I am meeting KANO tomorrow so I'll inquire of him." I left ARITA's place around 11:00 o'clock for home.

Shionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 357
(20 March 1940)

Army Plots and Tactics

Translator: Mr. Haruo Kawashima

On the 13th, I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. He said: "The control of the police is indeed very loose. Especially, unless they clamp down on the rightists it will be futile." Then I mentioned the talk of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal being ousted and replied: "No matter what is said or done to me, I think the rendering of my services in the present manner is the right thing to do."

I then spoke to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal of what I had said to KONOYE and MATSUDAIRA. This was that both of them seem to understand recently that the desire of those surrounding HIRANUMA to visit the present Lord Privy Seal in order to make HIRANUMA the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, was the purpose of aggravating the relations between KONOYE and the Lord Privy Seal so that KONOYE himself will oust the Lord Privy Seal and have HIRANUMA succeed him. With the foregoing method, they are using various methods. However, HIRANUMA is not actually aware (of the circumstances) and letting them do such, but there are indeed many who are trying to create a rift between KONOYE and HIRANUMA. In view of this, words are in circulation to the effect that KONOYE said this about the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal or that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal is recently denouncing KONOYE. Therefore, I warned both of them to that effect.

I left on the 14th, and went to Okitsu. On the morning of the 15th I spoke with the Premier over the phone. He said: "The WANG Government is set to be established about March 26th. I met Gen. ABE and it can be generally assured that he is going. Then, in regard to the commander of the German (battle-

Army Plots and Tactics

ship) Deutsch which was mentioned a few days ago, you can rest assured that he is being carefully watched."

I went to the Prince's place at 10:30 a.m. and spoke of the conditions of the Diet and made an interim report. The Prince said: "No matter who says what, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal cannot be changed at present. The Prince merely said what he had said before and in less than an hour, I took my leave and returned to Tokyo on the noon train.

Early on the morning of the 16th, the former Commander of the Tokyo Kempei-tai, SAKAMOTO, came and said: "There is a very queer atmosphere within the Army. Men like Col. TAKASHIMA, Lt. Col. SAKURAI of General Staff Headquarters, and the men of Lt. Col. ITO's group, who were recently rounded up in Kobe, altogether some 20 men, have a strange plan which I think is extremely dangerous. They want to form a military cabinet and do as they please. That military cabinet, that is a cabinet made by the Army, would never be sanctioned by the Emperor. Therefore, they would have to traverse a very difficult path. First, money would have to be gathered and with that, instigate the rightist, after which there will be nothing to do but have martial law declared. After creating such a condition (martial law), then a so-called military cabinet will be formed. By doing this, it is their aim to do as they please. If such conditions prevail, it is their belief that no matter how much the Emperor dislikes the Army, he will be compelled to sanction it (cabinet). This is because of the very unsettled condition of society. Commodities are scarce and prices are high. It would be simple to take advantage of this situation. Thus many dangers are involved, therefore, the situation must be studied with great care." I thought it best that such

Army Plots and Tactics

should be told to the main figures in the government, that is have SAKAMOTO to speak to men such as the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

It so happened that I had promised to have lunch with Capt. ONO of the Navy General Staff on the 16th. ONO said: "As a matter of fact, the Army has requested that a conference of the Grand Imperial Headquarters be called immediately. The Premier, the Home Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs will attend. A liaison conference between the Cabinet and the Supreme Command will be held. They (Army) insist the conference be held at the Army section of the Grand Imperial Headquarters at the General Staff Headquarters. The Navy insists that it would be better to hold the conference at the Palace. The younger Army men are saying they are going to take the State Ministers "down a notch or two" at this conference. They also claim that it is first necessary to strengthen internal conditions for a solution to this incident (China), but the Cabinet doesn't seem to be exerting any efforts towards this end. The foregoing are the reasons they set forth to give the Premier and the other State Ministers a difficult time. The Navy is not in favor of this and said that the thing we should do to settle the problem of this Incident, is to think it over seriously and discuss it. Such things (as blaming State Ministers and such) should come second. In this way, the foregoing idea was finally dropped. Those who insisted on holding the conference on the 14th or 15th, were held off until the 25th or 26th because of negotiations on various problems. The Palace is yet undecided. It is distressing that the Army is so stubborn." After supper on the 16th, I paid a visit to Foreign Minister ARITA. I spoke to him about this morning's talk with the former commander of Kempei-tai, SAKAMOTO, and also

Army Plots and Tactics

that with Capt. ONO. The Minister (ARITA) was completely unaware that a Grand Imperial Headquarters' conference was to be held. Evidently, no negotiations were carried out with the Foreign Ministry.

About 11:00 p.m., on my way home, I stopped off at the residence of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, MATSUDAIRA and talked over things in general.

Then, early on the morning of the 17th, I called on the Premier and spoke of those things (that were said to me yesterday). Also during the morning, I went to the Navy Minister's private residence and spoke to him about the plots that were being planned within a portion of the Army. After having lunch with him (Navy Minister), I returned to the Diet by 1:00 p.m.

At the Diet Session, I met the Minister of Home Affairs and told him about the various talks. I then said to him: "How would it be for you to make arrangements to meet the former commander of the Kempei-tai, SAKAMOTO?" The Home Minister replied: "Indeed, I shall meet him and give him a thorough warning." It was arranged to have the Home Minister and SAKAMOTO meet on the morning of the 18th.

After looking in at the Diet Session that afternoon (17th) I once again met MATSUDAIRA and spoke to him of what had occurred up until now and then returned home.

On the 18th, I went to the House of Peers and met the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet and the Director of the Legislation Bureau. I repeated what I had told the Foreign Minister and Home Minister since the 16th. The Home Minister had said: "After meeting SAKAMOTO, I will talk to the War Minister as a matter of official responsibility." I said: "If that talk is not successful, it will be unpleasant to have the matter

Army Plots and Tactics

brushed aside from the very beginning. Therefore, great care will have to be taken." ISHIWATA and HIROSE were of the same opinion and said: "It would be better to talk it over carefully with the Chief of the Metropolitan Police first before negotiating with the Army seriously." I relayed this to the Home Minister.

In the afternoon, I met the Governor of the Bank of Japan, at the Bank, and spoke to him about the recent trends in the financial world. He replied: "Recently, it looks just as though the Government is shying away from financial capitalists, and as though it is holding a queer prejudice towards IKEDA and us. This is indeed very unpleasant. When you meet the Premier, it is said that you sometimes talk of finance and economics and mix YUKI, IKEDA and us so-called industrial capitalists with the financial capitalists. It is a known fact that without finance, nothing can be accomplished. But regardless, a queer atmosphere prevails and GO's attitude is very unpleasant. In regard to the committee members of the proposed Price Investigation Committee, it seems as though personal friends of the Commerce and Industry Minister have been gathered together. It is disheartening. ISHIWATA also seemed to be very dissatisfied. It is indeed a very distressing situation."

At noon of the 19th, I had Secretaries OKUMURA and YOSHINO of the Foreign Ministry come to my place and asked them of the situation within the Ministry. They said: "With the return of AHITA, TANI, is calming down and control is being restored. As the result of gradual personnel shifts, it can be said the situation is in hand. And then, in regard to the sending of Gen. ABE as a

Army Plots and Tactics

special envoy (to China), he will go as a man from the Foreign Ministry. And too, he has been asked by the Foreign Ministry to follow the instructions of the President of the Asia Development Board in regard to the settlement of the China problem. But, the Army says that he should follow the instructions of the Army; others say that diplomatic qualifications should be specified only towards third Powers. Such were the numerous conflicting debates that were being carried on. However the case may be the (China) problem will probably take quite some more time."

When I met Gen. ABE the other day, he said; "If I am being sent merely as a good-will ambassador, I will refuse. If I am going there, it would be convenient if I were able to accomplish some worthwhile work." I immediately phoned the Premier and spoke to him about it (what ABE had said), but the Premier said: "Naturally, it will be of a congratulatory nature, but while he is over there, it is his duty to make some negotiations. That's why we are sending Gen. ABE. Whatever the case may be concerning the Tax System Reform Bill before the Diet, the consensus of opinion is that the House of Peers will not make any additions to what corrections the House of Representatives may make. The session may not have to be prolonged."

It was decided that I go to the Prince (SAIONJI) and make a report on the 23rd. So, before going, I promised the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal that I would meet him. I made this promise on the morning of the 19th by phone.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 358
(29 March 1940)

Intra-Government Liaison

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

On the morning of the 21st, I had Captain ONO of Naval General Staff Headquarters come over. I secretly told him about the conspiracy of the Army and the right-wing which SAKAMOTO, the former Chief of the Kempei-tai, had told me the other day. Then I told Captain ONO that the Home Minister felt it would be unfavorable to pin down the facts that the circumstances are such as a result of detection on the part of the Chief of the Police Bureau and the Police. The reason was that if he found out from the Chief of the Police Bureau and the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board, the material would still have been obtained from the Kempei. The Kempei who supplied the material and the place from which SAKAMOTO had brought his information, were in practically the same direction. Even if the story wasn't double-faced and inconsistent, it would be funny for the Home Ministry to warn the War Ministry about it on this occasion. The Home Minister had asked me to consult his subordinates and to think up some plan. Therefore, I called Captain ONO and told him the above facts.

The Captain said: "If there are actual facts, the Navy could warn the Army through the Naval Affairs Bureau as it has liaison with the Kempei." If Rear Admiral SAMEJIMA, Naval Aide-de-Camp and I (HARADA) were to get involved and were to talk to the Chief of the Naval Affairs Bureau, there would be fear of various matters being misunderstood later on. I thought I should drop

Intra-Government Liaison

that. I thought it most important for the Home Minister and the Navy Minister to meet personally and talk this over with the Premier and for the three of them to take up very close liaison and be cautious. I decided to urge KODAMA, the Home Minister, to do that.

On the night of the 21st, KONOYE, YUKI, MATSUDAIRA and IKEDA were to be present at the Kuwana. However, IKEDA was unable to attend due to illness. ITO Bunkichi came later. KONOYE related: "IZAWA's endeavors at the time of the problem of expelling SAITO were very strenuous. He practically overthrew the forces (for expulsion). He had WAKATSUKI and YAMAMOTO Tatsuo speak strongly against the matter of expulsion to President MACHIDA. The working in the House of Peers, that is, the speeches of TAZAWA Yoshisuke and MARUYAMA, were supported by IZAWA." I (HARADA) had previously told the same sort of story to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal denied it. Perhaps KONOYE is right about it, and perhaps he is mistaken. I couldn't reach any decision.

Regarding the fact that Gen. ABE was going to Nanking as a special envoy, there was one group that said that the Army sympathized with the failure of the ABE Cabinet and had made him an envoy in order to make ABE happy. Another group said that the three chiefs (Chiefs of the Legislation Bureau, and Investigation Bureau, and Chief Secretary of the Cabinet) and administrative officials had the mistaken idea that the ABE Cabinet had been poisoned by the upper classes. Therefore, they were full of feelings of regret. They were making a big rumpus about Gen. ABE going as a special envoy and were trying to give him a hearty send-off. This was thought quite a natural feeling.

Intra-Government Liaison

However, on top of this, those who were Cabinet ministers during the ABE Cabinet and practically all of the three Chiefs seemed to be planning to accompany him. Therefore, there was slander that perhaps an ABE Cabinet was to be established again in Nanking. I heard about this at this gathering.

ITO Bunkichi stated: "I heard this from a certain source. FUJIWARA, the Minister of Commerce and Industry, has recently been giving newspaper reporters everywhere a good time. Not only has he been doing this, but he has been squandering money and has been carrying on in a very showy manner. Naturally, he has been giving money very heavily to newspaper reporters. There are those who are worried that it might give rise to big trouble, and others are indignant." I talked this over with KONOYE and we decided: "Let's warn ISHIWATA." Since it's unfavorable for me to warn him because of various connections, we decided that ITO Bunkichi would warn ISHIWATA, the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet. Besides these matters, we heard about urgent problems concerning domestic economy from YUKI, the Governor of the Bank of Japan. I returned home around 11:00 p.m.

At 8:30 a.m. of the 22nd, I visited the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at his private residence. I asked about recent developments. He told me that the Emperor's mood was unusually good. He said: "Lately, there have been many times when His Majesty was in bad humor when the Premiers of the succeeding Cabinets had audiences with him. However, recently when Premier YONAI was received in audience, His Majesty was in a very good mood. The Premier thought it strange. I said: 'He is probably

Intra-Government Liaison

worried about various state of affairs. However, he probably has confidence in the calm state of the Cabinet.' The Premier, who was formerly Navy Minister, said: 'This is very unusual.'" The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal continued: "Matters such as destruction of the status-quo or reform measures, when the question is driven home, return to the fact that it is the destruction of the Constitution. It is an extremely outrageous story. In view of the circumstances today, I guess nothing can be done right away while the Army has the present impelling force." The matter about FUJIWARA came up, but the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had already heard about it.

At noon, I had lunch with TANI and HOTTA at the Ritz in Tokyo Kaikan. I heard various slanderous stories from HOTTA. From TANI, I heard the fact that matters within the Foreign Ministry were calming down.

After I left them, I went to the Diet. I met ISHIWATA, the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet. I told him: "ITO Bunkichi wants to see you about the matter of FUJIWARA. Please listen to him frankly." I also said: "The staff of the special envoy, Gen. ABE, is just like a reappearance of the ABE Cabinet. There are even those who speak ill of it and say that an ABE Cabinet is being formed in Nanking. I think that the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet has sufficient voice in the matter of the selection of the staff. You must be rather careful in the selection of personnel so that we won't be laughed at, for ABE's sake and also in order that the nation's prestige will not be impaired." The Chief Secretary of the Cabinet replied: "Of course." This set my mind at ease.

Intra-Government Liaison

I also met Finance Minister SAKURAI at the Diet.

He stated: "There seem to be many reports reaching KONOYE, the President of the Privy Council. However, the fact that there is no standard by which to measure what should be accepted or rejected, is because the liaison with the Government is bad. I am going to speak to the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet and the Premier about the possibility of using KONOYE's younger brother (in-law), Baron MIYAGAWA, for liaison with the Government. Will you also talk to them about it?"

I also told the Finance Minister: "Governor YUKI (of the Bank of Japan) said: 'There is an atmosphere at present in which the hostile relationship of the capitalists is becoming very aggravated. That is to say, there are indications that a dispute may be rising between the industrial capitalists and the financial capitalists. In those times, it is very necessary that this opposition be dissolved. If the Premier, upon the inducement of the Finance Minister, were to invite principal personages to his official residence and let them talk while dining, I wonder if it might not prevent the incurrence of public misunderstanding.'" Regarding the matter of KONOYE and YUKI's suggestion, the Finance Minister said: "I feel the same way. I shall do that when I have a good opportunity."

That afternoon, I went from Shizuoka to Okitsu. On the morning of the 23rd, I talked to the Premier by phone. The Premier said: "You can expect the Diet session to be prolonged four or five days. There were many bills as proposals of the government. The plan for 190,000,000 tons of charcoal was crushed by the House of Representatives."

Intra-Government Liaison

Besides that, there's nothing particularly important." I also talked to Foreign Minister ARITA by phone. He stated: "There's nothing in particular. The visit to Japan by the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha is probably for the purpose of propaganda for the German Government."

From 10:30 a.m. on the 23rd, I went to Prince SAIONJI's place and made a general report on the situation since the last time. Prince SAIONJI said: "If the government can proceed in harmony and unity, that is the best. However, judging from the newspapers, there is no logic to what they are doing." He repeatedly expounded the fact that the Constitution must be respected. After conversing for about an hour, I left. I returned to Oiso on the noon train.

After I was there for a short while, Ambassador and Mrs. YOSHIDA and their daughter arrived unexpectedly with the British Ambassador and his wife. The wife of the British Ambassador teased me and said: "Three policemen followed us. Aren't you afraid?" I replied: "I am not afraid, and there is also no reason for the police to come." We conversed on sundry topics for about an hour. We drank tea with great enjoyment. They came like a storm and left like a storm for the British Ambassador's villa at Hayama, accompanied by the YOSHIDA family.

I felt that the British Ambassador was quite worried that Japan might do something with the Soviet and Germany from the way he spoke. Therefore, I said: "I think it is Japan's mission to take a strictly neutral attitude concerning Europe's war. I don't think that anything like what you are worrying about will happen." The Ambassador seemed to be quite relieved. Fearing that I might start trouble, I hadn't approached him too much. He thought

Intra-Government Liaison

that I was avoiding him intentionally. However, I felt that this thought had been dissolved by our conversation that day and that he departed with renewed friendship. On the surface, this might seem like a joke or a prank of Ambassador YOSHIDA. However, I felt that Ambassador YOSHIDA had brought the British Ambassador and his wife so that their misunderstandings against me could be cleared up. Privately, I am grateful to Ambassador YOSHIDA for his deed.

On the night of the 24th, Captain TAKAGI of the Naval Staff College came to my place. He stated: "Recently a colonel (of General Staff Headquarters) has taken the lead in setting up plans to carry out a second Manchurian Incident in the South Seas, Java, or Sumatra. I shall let you know as soon as I find out his name. This is a very distressing matter."

The other day, the younger brother of the deceased Count OGASAWARA Chokan had come to my place and said: "Since my firm has connections, I have been commissioned at the request of the Army to go and find oil in Java and Sumatra. Please introduce me to the consuls and consuls-general over there." Naturally, the colonel in General Staff Headquarters would use a civilian, and it is also understood that he would actively use the right wing. I felt that OGASAWARA was a manifestation of this.

The next morning, I went to IKEDA Seihin's place. IKEDA said: "The reason I wanted to see you is that some time ago I said that I would like to have SHODA Kazuo appointed as Finance Minister at some time and have him take charge of the disposition of finance and economy of these difficult times. Since then, I have been doing

Intra-Government Liaison

some investigating. I have been looking at the facts which have appeared in the light of various jobs that SHODA did while in office as Finance Minister during the KIIYOURA Cabinet. Of course, there isn't any fact that he embezzled money. However, there are quite a number of actual facts that he misappropriated money for political movements or enterprises. Some record concerning this has shown up, and the Finance Ministry is rabidly trying to obstruct SHODA's second coming. I thought it quite unpleasant and wanted to tell you about it. Prince KONOYE told me some time ago that when the War Minister and Prince KONOYE met on March 1, the War Minister asked him to send AKIYAMA directly to the Chungking Government. The fact that Prince KONOYE consented to this without any stipulations is very dangerous to Prince KONOYE's political life." IKEDA was deeply worried about this.

I (HARADA) had the same feeling, and the other day I had warned KONOYE: "If, by letter, or by meeting the War Minister personally, you were to caution the War Minister to talk to Premier YONAI and Foreign Minister ARITA, your position would improve by itself. If you caution him, and the War Minister himself doesn't talk to the Premier and the Foreign Minister, it will be the sole responsibility of the War Minister, and it won't be yours. However, if you conceal this fact and feign ignorance, you will lose your position due to your reputation. That is, there is danger of your future crumbling in the political world." IKEDA had the same anxiety.

IKEDA continued and spoke on the problem of conspiracy between the Army and the right-wing for internal disturbances. Some time ago, IKEDA asked the Premier:

Intra-Government Liaison

"The Army feels that their big blunder at the time of the Feb. 26 Incident was that they didn't win the Emperor over to their side. This time, there is said to be a plan of first winning the Emperor to their side and then starting a disturbance. Does the Navy have ideas on methods of protecting the Emperor, whether by getting him on a warship or by other means in such an instance?" The Premier replied: "Sufficient preparations have been made for such an event. Please be at ease." This problem is very serious. Naturally, this cannot be divulged. IKEDA said that he and the Premier talked about it very secretly.

On the morning of the 25th, I went to Tokyo and attended the Diet. In the afternoon, the supplementary budget was laid before the Diet, and practically all of the bills were settled. The Diet was brought to a close on the afternoon of the 26th. The closing ceremony of the Diet was held on the 27th.

That night, I went to the Yanaguchi at the invitation of SHINDO of Nichiro Gyogyo (Russia-Japan Fishing Co.). I had dinner with the President of the House of Peers, Admiral HASEGAWA, KURACHI and ITO, both members of the House of Peers. I again returned to Oiso.

At dinner, MATSUDAIRA, the President of the House of Peers, stated: "Toward the end of April I am going together with the Speaker of the House of Representatives to Nanking for the purpose of a congratulatory tour.

The majority of the House of Representatives feel that it would be distressing if KOYAMA, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, were sent as a representative of the House of Representatives without his position as

Intra-Government Liaison

Speaker being recognized."

In any event, the House of Representatives was quite disturbed due to the SAITO problem. Also, the Jikyoku Doshi-kai had been dissolved. The other day, KONOYE made the observation: "Might not the House of Representatives divide into two factions with the focus on the expulsion problem? The expulsion group will probably get the majority and persons of the upper class like HATOYAMA and MITSUCHI will probably remain in the non-expulsion faction." The reason I felt that KONOYE's information on this matter was rather one-sided, was because I felt that the fact that there was quite a tendency against expulsion among the regional people and in practically all of the divisions in the Army, had been kept deliberately from entering KONOYE's ears.

After that, I rested for one or two days at Oiso. KONOYE said that he wanted to stop by for lunch and talk with me at noon on the 29th on his return to Tokyo from Hakone. I am thinking of talking to him at this time concerning KONOYE's problem which was worrying IKEDA.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 359
(6 April 1940)

Konoye Plans Trip Abroad

Prince KONOYE dropped in at my residence at noon of the 29th on his return from Hakone and we had lunch together. We conversed until a little after 3:00 p.m. Prince KONOYE said at that time: "I wish to go on an inspection tour of approximately six months of the European and United States political situation. What is your impression? Could you please speak to Prince SAIONJI and the Government regarding my intentions? Moreover, the liaison between the prefectural divisions (military) is extremely close and I have heard that there are plans for internal disturbances. Is the YONAI Cabinet safe?" I replied: "Even if the officers took action, the soldiers will not heed their words." However, Prince KONOYE replied: "It is rumored that the officers will use the rightists." Therefore, I replied: "At the present, when there is no food, prices are high, and the complaints of the public numerous, a single incident is likely to cause the situation to shift. Nevertheless, I don't think that a scheme such as you have mentioned will be carried out. I have persistently cautioned you, but in the matter of you being requested by the War Minister to speak to AKIYAMA, I think that you should first suggest to the War Minister that he speak to the Premier himself. This, from the standpoint of your personal responsibilities, will indicate that you are checking the plot to a certain extent. If you do not do this, it might endanger your future political career. You will have to decide the matter with the War Minister and then advise him that it will be wise for

Konoye Plans Trip Abroad

him to speak with the Premier as well as the Foreign Minister himself." KONOYE did not answer that time.

At 11:00 p.m. that night, KONOYE phoned me and said: "I met the War Minister at Prince CHICHIBU's Science Promotion Society's dinner party. As I wanted to hear of the recent developments, I told him about AKIYAMA. However, the War Minister said: 'I have not heard from AKIYAMA since then, other than that he will not make a partial report.' I told him that it would be a wise idea for him to relate the story to the Premier. Please be relieved. The War Minister was saying that he will confer with the Premier."

On the following day, upon my return to Tokyo, I met Foreign Minister ARITA and expressed the following wishes of KONOYE: "KONOYE desires to go for a six month's trip overseas to observe the political situation, possibly taking ITO Nobumi and also one outstanding man from the Army and Navy. The rest could consist of his former secretaries." ARITA replied: "I am totally against sending anything which resembles a mission, but if he wishes to go as an individual, it is a different matter. Anyway, I will think this over and will also speak with the Premier." I (HARADA) said: "I am going to see Prince SAIONJI the day after tomorrow. Therefore, after thoroughly discussing the matter with him, I shall speak with the Premier and then will talk to you again. Please wait awhile." ARITA stated: "Since the settlement of the Yangtze River problem, the Navy Minister and the Premier are comparatively cool towards each other. It is very distressing as they do not carry out their promises over there (China). If you should see the

Konoye Plans Trip Abroad

Premier, please inquire once again regarding the Yangtze River problem."

I spoke to the Premier and also Chief Cabinet Secretary ISHIWATA regarding KONOYE. To this, the Premier replied: "I'll think it over." In the beginning, ISHIWATA stated: "That is an excellent idea, but I'll think this over too." I departed after saying: "I'll speak to Prince SAIONJI about it and then later return and present the matter to you formally."

Early on the morning of the 31st, I called on KODAMA, the Minister of Home Affairs. He said: "The Cabinet conference on the 29th amounted to negotiations with Great Britain on the importing of war contraband goods. Should this be blocked, it can be arranged to come through the secret facilities of the Italian Government. We have placed an order already amounting to seven or eight shiploads of goods that our munitions factories need, but which are not paid for yet. Since it is very vital, we have asked Great Britain to give it special consideration, but England does not readily say yes. England believes that nothing can be done about what has already been paid for, but they would like to halt cash from flowing into Germany. Therefore, they will not allow anything that has been paid for to go through. On the other hand, Great Britain has requested Japan to halt the flow of tungsten and other items into Germany and Russia from the United States through Vladivostok. However, since Japan's policy is one of non-intervention in the European war, we have refused to cooperate. We shall have to wait and see the outcome of the diplomatic negotiations before we can predict what will happen in the future. There is no change

Konoye Plans Trip Abroad

as far as public peace and order are concerned. The problem now is whether the rice supply will last until the harvest season."

On the 31st, I went with MATSUDAIRA to Okitsu. MATSUDAIRA had visited the Prince during his recent illness so he wished to pay a courtesy call. The Prince said: "I will meet MATSUDAIRA and you on the morning of the 1st."

I gave a general report to the Prince. I also spoke on Prince KONOYE's proposed European trip and SAIONJI replied: "It will not do for him to go in an official capacity. I am of the opinion that it will be best for him to go as an individual. No one will pay any attention even if he goes with a large delegation like a mission of some sort. It would be most advantageous for him now, as well as in the future, to visit various nations, learn the political situation of those nations and meet some famous statesmen with whom he can converse. If he should be given a responsible position, this will also benefit the nation."

In regard to the domestic situation, Prince SAIONJI said: "It will be useless unless the authority of the police is established and strengthened. There are indications that the people are indignant over the lack of understanding of the police." In regard to Prince KONOYE's problem, SAIONJI said: "There is nothing better than (for KONOYE) to observe the present international trends firsthand and come home after becoming acquainted with distinguished persons."

On the way home, I (HARADA) got off at Oiso to rest. On the morning of the 2nd, I went to Tokyo and met ISHIWATA. I spoke to him in detail of the previous

Konoze Plans Trip Abroad

conversations and waited for the Premier to return. The Premier had visited the Ise Shrine and had not returned as yet.

Early on the morning of the 3rd, I visited Gen. ABE to congratulate him upon his appointment as special envoy. Upon discussing matters, the general seemed concerned over the state of affairs within the Army. Moreover, he had also heard from War Minister HATA about the KONOYE and AKIYAMA problems. In short, the War Minister went to Prince KONOYE and inquired if there were someone who would act as an intermediary between CHIANG Kai-shek and the Japanese Government. To this, KONOYE is said to have recommended AKIYAMA. When I met KONOYE the last time, I understood that the War Minister had designated AKIYAMA. Moreover, Gen. ABE was complaining of the many unsolved problems in connection with his forthcoming trip to China. He was also quite concerned over the mixed opinions and disunity within the Army.

En route home, I visited ARITA and told him of SAIONJI's views. ARITA was in complete accord and he said: "Prince KONOYE's setting out to observe the international situation will be of more value than his being the President of the Privy Council. Nevertheless, he cannot go with a mission. As Prince SAIONJI suggested, it is better to send him in an unofficial capacity. Of course, he will resign from his present position before he goes. Let's wait awhile until the Premier returns and then discuss the matter."

In the afternoon, I met KONOYE and I repeated the story I told ARITA. I also spoke with MATSUDAIRA and had him convey the story to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

Konoye Plans Trip Abroad

On the morning of the 4th, I met the Premier and told KONOYE's story. The Premier answered: "I don't know what the motive is. I really would like to know the truth. Perhaps he wants to run away from his responsibilities. But, as KONOYE says that he is interested in the international situation, why don't we take it in that sense?" In regard to Prince SAIONJI's suggestion to have KONOYE resign his position and then go, the Premier said: "As a general rule, to have a person holding the important post of President of the Privy Council leave the capital for a considerable length of time, is not a wise thing. Anyway, I will consider this." I told the Premier: "According to ARITA's story, Prince KONOYE and ARITA met the other night and conferred at length. Prince KONOYE will call on Baron HIRANUMA and reveal what is in his mind. Then, he will call ARITA by phone, so he asked me to speak to the Premier about this. Therefore, ARITA will come and consult you about KONOYE after KONOYE calls him and notifies him of the situation after the meeting with HIRANUMA. How would it be if you made arrangements to speak with the Lord Privy Seal after the foregoing discussion? Anyway, the formal conversation will take place from then." With these words, I parted with the Premier and returned home.

On the evening of the 4th, there was a phone call from KONOYE. He said: "After speaking with HIRANUMA, he was in favor of my making an observation tour to view the international situation. Therefore, last evening, I had ISHIWATA come over and requested him to have the plans speeded up. However, ISHIWATA replied: 'Please let me think this over a little while longer.' It seemed

Konoye Plans Trip Abroad

that he was against the idea. He also said that the story is slightly confusing." Therefore, I (HARADA) said: "I'll see him again to check on what he meant."

I went to the official residence of the Chief Cabinet Secretary early on the morning of the 5th and discussed the details. To avoid a misunderstanding, I mentioned the fact that there was no motive behind my story. I also said the same to the Premier and departed.

Later, I heard that KONOYE visited HIRANUMA and committed himself by saying: "Please take over the position again after I resign as the President of the Privy Council." This made it very difficult for the Premier. The Premier had no idea as to the successor to the presidency of the Privy Council. There was talk to the effect that HARA Yoshimichi's promotion or the selection of HIROTA will not improve the situation. Nevertheless, it was the Premier's intention to think matters over. Then, he heard that KONOYE and HIRANUMA had discussed matters between themselves and this rather upset him. Also, on the evening of the 4th, when ISHIWATA and KONOYE met, KONOYE said: "Since I am going on an inspection tour of the international situation, I dislike having any responsibilities." To this, ISHIWATA replied: "A man who holds a post as high as the President of the Privy Council and abandons it to survey the international situation aimlessly is distressing. If you are going, the Government will probably approve and I believe you will even take a greater responsibility than the present one of being the President of the Privy Council." From the standpoint of the domestic situation, you were the Premier

Konoye Plans Trip Abroad

at the time of the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese Incident and the person who was held responsible for it. It is shirking your duties to leave the country when the situation is becoming acute. These were some of the remarks and it is rather complicated." The foregoing was discussed between the Premier and ISHIWATA. The result was that both the Premier and the Chief Cabinet Secretary agreed to think the matter over. Therefore, this problem must be laid aside and time can only decide it. There were no reasons for proposing to advance the matter.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs said: "If KONOYE would go abroad and actually observe the situation, it will be more profitable than his being the President of the Privy Council. No matter how one thinks of the domestic situation, I believe that the most difficult problem would be the Army. In that event, would it not be better for KONOYE to consult the Army and then make his decision?"

On the evening of the 5th, I went to talk to KONOYE after being prompted to do so by ARITA. I told KONOYE what ARITA thought of the idea. KONOYE agreed with ARITA and said: "In all probability, the Premier will speak to the Army for me." With this, I left. It was arranged to have the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Premier and the Chief Cabinet Secretary meet on the following day and make their decision after discussing the matter. The three all agreed that the wisest thing to do was to leave it to the Government. KONOYE had said: "I do not want to do anything which would inconvenience the Government." KONOYE decided to wait until the Government studied the question so I departed.

Konoye Plans Trip Abroad

On the morning of the 6th, I called to tell ARITA what I had told KONOYE the night before. On that day, I left for Oiso and on the 7th, I went to Okitsu. It has been arranged for me to meet the Prince on the 8th.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 360
(16 April 1940)

Konoye's Trip Cancelled

Translated by Mr. Haruo Kawashima

On the 7th, I phoned the Premier and inquired into the situation. There did not seem to be any particular changes. The Premier said: "KONOYE's former secretary, KISHI, went to ISHIWATA's place and among the various things that he said, he mentioned KONOYE's coming trip to Europe and said that KONOYE was being sent only to Russia, Germany and Italy. His talk seemed to indicate that there was no necessity to go to England or the United States. ISHIWATA spoke to me of this fact. When I met KONOYE the other day, his attitude seemed to substantiate this. The reason it seemed so was because KONOYE said: 'SHIRATORI was saying that he wanted to go with me.' From such indications, it seems as though KONOYE's trip around Europe this time carries an ominous meaning which is unpleasant. And when ISHIWATA phoned KIDO, who was in Osaka, and spoke to him, it is said that he too was opposed. When KIDO returns, why don't you (HARADA) meet him?"

I went to Okitsu on the 7th and met the Prince on the morning of the 8th. When I mentioned KONOYE, he said: "In regard to the talk about KONOYE, you had better meet KIDO and ask him about it thoroughly. KIDO may have his opinions, but thinking it over, it might be better to cancel the trip. It will be distressing if we say the trip is cancelled and have him act up to the point of resigning as the President of the Privy Council. It would be difficult to find a successor to KONOYE as

Konoye's Trip Cancelled

President of the Privy Council. Furthermore, it would be better to have KONOYE continue."

The Prince continued: "In regard to the problem with the United States, it is just before the presidential election so there may be sentimental feelings and domestic political haggling in the United States. Therefore this problem may not be solved so easily. A country like Germany thinks nothing of prevaricating. Just like at the time of the Three Power Intervention, they said the Russian Czar was too clamorous and it finally ended up like that. The Kaiser was all right for two or three years after being enthroned, but afterwards he was used only as a toy by the militarists."

Then, in regard to Ambassador ABE's going to China, he asked me to forward a card for him. I returned to Tokyo on the 8th by the Fuji. I immediately called on KIDO and he was of the same opinion as the government in thinking that it was not very good (to send KONOYE at this time). He said: "I think it would be better not to send him."

Thereupon, I immediately went to KONOYE's place in Ogikubo and told him of the various circumstances and urged him not to go. KONOYE said: "I have no intention of going if it is going to cause the Government that much trouble. I had better speak to HIRANUMA once because I spoke to him with quite some determination."

So, I said: "Then, I shall take the blame by saying: 'I took the situation too lightly and spoke to KONOYE too soon which resulted in misjudgment. I am very sorry.' I shall meet HIRANUMA before you do and put in such words." KONOYE desired me to do this so it was

Konoze's Trip Cancelled

decided that I meet HIRANUMA when he returned on the 16th.

On the 9th, ARITA phoned me and said: "The Premier is to meet KONOZE at the Privy Council on Wednesday, but I want you to cancel the meeting unofficially for the time being."

I had intentions of meeting the Premier but newspaper reporters had been bothering me of late. I phoned the Premier and said: "KONOZE did not want to bother the government to such an extent and was not that keen about going to Europe so he entertains a feeling of giving it up. That is what he wanted me to tell you, but you will probably hear it from him personally. I just wanted to tell you about it." To this, the Premier replied: "I understand." I then phoned Chief Secretary ISHIWATA and told him the same thing.

At noon on the 10th, the British Ambassador, former Ambassador NOMURA and myself, had lunch together with the Premier at his private residence in Kojimachi. At that time, the British Ambassador said: "I don't know whether or not to meet everybody that comes to see me." To this I replied: "It all depends on the person. That is a very difficult question. If this were England, everybody would be gentlemanly and it would not be hard to understand and it would not be difficult to talk. But here in Japan, it is still very difficult."

On the morning of the 11th, I called on Home Minister KODAMA and he said: "In order to keep in contact with KONOZE, Police Bureau Chief YAMAZAKI was sometimes sent to KONOZE's place. At the next Diet Session, various problems such as that in regard to city, town and village chiefs and problems related to self government will

Konoye's Trip Cancelled

probably be brought forth. So, I want to be prepared in regard to these problems that will be brought forth at the Diet session." In regard to the problem of public peace, he was very concerned about the rice problem. He said: "Recently, the leftists began a clamor on the lack of rice and using it (as a theme) in their maneuvers. In regard to this the Government is extremely worried."

That noon, I called SUZUKI Teiichi, INUKAI and various other members of the House of Peers. Altogether, about 13 or 14 people came to the Tokyo Club and I had lunch with them. At that time, I inquired of SUZUKI and INUKAI of how the conditions were in regard to the establishment of the WANG Government.

On the 16th, I phoned ARITA and I also phoned the Premier and asked him of the situation. The Premier said: "There are not any particular problems. There is however, the problem of the vacancies in the Privy Council. At present, the possible candidates are OSHIMA, TAKEKOSHI and OBATA. Doctor ODA cannot possibly be considered on account of his 'Emperor Organ Theory'."

On the 13th, I went to Okitsu. On the morning of the 15th, I met the Prince and made a report. I returned to Tokyo on the afternoon of the 15th.

